

# SOUTHERN folklore QUARTERLY

THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN CO-OPERATION WITH  
THE SOUTH ATLANTIC MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION

SEPTEMBER, 1960 • VOLUME XXIV



# SOUTHERN FOLKLORE QUARTERLY

*A publication devoted to the historical and descriptive study of folklore and to the discussion of folk material as a living tradition*

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# Southern Folklore Quarterly

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## FOLKLORE BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR 1959

by

R. S. Boggs

and

Sarah Elizabeth Roberts

AS ANNOUNCED IN THE FIRST PARAGRAPH of the Folklore bibliography for 1958 (SFQ 1959, XXIII, 1), after 22 years R. S. Boggs retired as bibliographer to have more time for other projects. Certainly everyone can understand how even the most dedicated scholar might tire after a solid stretch of 22 years of bibliographic labors without a break. 1959 is our year of transition. Sarah Elizabeth Roberts, a Latin American specialist of the University of Florida Library, has kindly consented to prepare the entries for this year, but only the bibliographic data, without annotations. Next year Américo Paredes will appear as our bibliographer. Since his first Bibliography, appearing in the March number of 1961, will be the Folklore bibliography for 1960, we earnestly beseech all of our readers to send him all news items and publications of interest during this current year of 1960 and to give him all help and encouragement possible in order to ensure successful continuity of this public service to our field. Address your communications to:

Prof. Américo Paredes  
Department of English  
University of Texas  
Austin 12, Texas

Only a few of the many activities in our field are noted this year. In 1958 the Argentine government established a Fondo nacional de las artes, including a committee on "expresiones folklóricas." Ten of its seventy scholarships are destined for folklore. Also in the Faculty of philosophy and letters of the University of Buenos Aires a master's degree or *licenciatura* in anthropological sciences has been created which

includes folklore, ably taught by Augusto Raúl Cortazar. In Lima, Peru, Luis E. Valcárcel, president of the Inter-American committee of folklore, issued a statement on Feb. 19, 1959, that a *Bibliografía del folklore peruano*, published in the *Boletín de la Biblioteca central de la Universidad nacional mayor de San Marcos* under the authorship of César Angeles Caballero (vol. XXVIII, año XXXI, nos. 1-4), is really a part of a Peruvian folklore bibliography prepared by this Committee and sent for publication in January 1957 to the Comisión de historia del Comité panamericano de geografía e historia in Mexico, on which César Angeles Caballero was one of various collaborators.

A new Center of folklore, under the Ministry of culture and national guidance of the United Arab Republic, 27 Abdel Khalek Sarwat St., Cairo, Egypt, has been established to record, classify, and study Egyptian folklore. This Center wishes to establish cultural relations and exchange of publications with other folklore centers of the world. In February 1959, no. 1 of the Philippine folklore society (PFS) Newsletter (mimeographed) reported on the early activities of PFS, engendered by stimulus of students taking folklore courses in the University of the Philippines' anthropology department since 1949. Finally an organizational meeting was called on Aug. 9, 1958, the PFS was founded and its constitution adopted on that date. E. Arsenio Manuel was elected president. At the second meeting, Aug. 22, 1958, he lectured on Methods of folklore study. At the third meeting Felipe L. Jocano talked about his experiences with the Sulod of central Panay, September 27, 1958. This Newsletter also lists activities of its members, and the agenda for the fourth meeting, February 14, 1959, and gives a list of 34 members of PFS. A *Campanha de defesa do folclore brasileiro* was founded by Decreto no. 43.178 of the President of Brasil issued February 5, 1958. Its *reglamento* is set forth in *portaria* no. 409, July 14, 1958, by the Ministry of education and culture. Its offices are at Rua Santa Luzia no. 799/901, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. It is under the Ministry of education, aided by the General secretary of the National commission of folklore and four specialists. Its aim is to encourage in Brazil the study, propagation, and protection of folklore investigation, collection, editing, congresses, expositions, courses, festivals, exchanges, folk art, folklore groups, etc. Its funds will come from various governmental branches, private donations, and income from its services. Alceu Maynard Araujo writes from São Paulo that he has succeeded in obtaining the establishment in Tietê of a new Museu histórico, folclórico, e



pedagógico "Cornelio Pires," inaugurated November 22, 1958, which will be used by students training for teaching positions in elementary schools and other secondary school students, to develop their interest in their own national traditional culture.

The 34th International congress of Americanists will be held in Vienna, Austria, July 18-25, 1960; also the 6th International congress of anthropological and ethnological sciences will be held in Paris, France, July 31 to August 7, 1960. An International congress for folk-tale research was held in Kiel, Germany, August 19-26, 1959, under the direction of Prof. Kurt Ranke of the University of Kiel. The proceedings of the IV inter-American Indian congress, held May 16-26, 1959, in Guatemala City, are fully reported and occupy the entire no. 3, p. 127-180, of vol. XIX, for September 1959, of the *Boletín indigenista*, published in Mexico.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- AI—América indígena, órgano trimestral del Instituto indigenista interamericano, México, D.F.
- AS—American speech. Columbia University Press. New York.
- BIFV—Boletín del Instituto de folklore. Ministerio de educación. Dirección de cultura y bellas artes. Caracas, Venezuela.
- DLP—Douro-litoral, boletim da Comissão de etnografia e história. Junta de província do Douro-litoral. Porto, Portugal.
- FA—Folklore Americas. University of Miami. Coral Gables, Florida, U.S.A.
- FL—Folklore, being the quarterly transactions of the Folklore society. London, England.
- JAF—Journal of American folklore. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.
- JIFC—Journal of the International folkmusic council. London, England.
- JSAP—Journal de la Société des américanistes. Musée de l'homme, Palais de Chaillot. Paris, France.
- MFI—Midwest folklore; published by Indiana University. Bloomington, Indiana, U.S.A.
- MSMC—Masterkey. Southwest museum. Los Angeles, California, U.S.A.
- NYFQ—New York folklore quarterly. Cooperstown, New York, U. S. A.
- OZV—Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde. Verein für Volkskunde in Wien.
- P—El palacio. Santa Fe, New Mexico, U.S.A.
- RDTP—Revista de dialectología y tradiciones populares. Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas. Centro de estudios de etnología peninsular. Madrid, Spain.
- RSHG—Revue de la Société haïtienne d'histoire, de géographie et de géologie. Port-au-Prince, Haiti.
- SFQ—Southern folklore quarterly. University of Florida. Gainesville, Florida, U.S.A.
- TFSB—Tennessee folklore society bulletin. Athens, Tennessee, U.S.A.
- WF—Western folklore, published for the California folklore society by the University of California press. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California, U.S.A.

# Southern Folklore Quarterly

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## SPANISH FOLKSONGS IN METROPOLITAN DENVER

by Arthur L. Campa

THE AREA SURROUNDING the city of Denver within a radius of thirty miles is what is commonly referred to as metropolitan Denver, with a total population of approximately one million inhabitants, fifty thousand of whom are Spanish speaking. This Spanish speaking minority is not a uniform cultural group. It is composed of several peoples from different geographical regions who have come into the Denver vicinity at different times during the past century.

The original Spanish settlements of Colorado were not established as far north as the Denver area; they were located for the most part South of what is now the city of Pueblo as early as the latter part of the eighteenth century. Denver has celebrated its first centennial during 1959, a celebration generally announced as "The Rush to the Rockies." There were a few Spanish names in connection with this gold rush to the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains, but nothing that would approximate a settlement. The first permanent settlement in Colorado was established in the San Luis Valley about 1851 by people moving north from New Mexico via Taos and Questa.

As Colorado began to develop its industry and agriculture, the Spanish speaking population from northern New Mexico and the San Luis Valley to the west began to move north, the former by way of Raton Pass and the latter through La Veta Pass to Trinidad, Colorado. The next stage in this move was Walsenberg, then Pueblo, but eventually Denver became the focal point because of its size, importance and the employment opportunities it offered.

These Spanish colonials from the headwaters of the Rio Grande are the ones who have maintained an older folksong tradition, due in part to the centuries of relative isolation in which they lived in the small rural communities and mountain villages of New Mexico. They had

little if any contact with Spain and Mexico in colonial days, and after the American occupation became even more isolated politically.

The second important group of Spanish speaking people in metropolitan Denver is composed of Mexicans who began to arrive during the Mexican revolution. Many of them were agricultural workers contracted by *reenganche* agents from the international border around El Paso and directly from Mexico. Whole families were signed up to work in the Colorado beet fields around Fort Lupton, and at the close of the harvest season settled in Denver where they could find employment during the winter.

Through this group of settlers the songs of the Mexican revolution and those which were current before the first world war soon became known to all Spanish speaking Denver, including the colonial residents from New Mexico. This is the reason why so many *corridos* such as *Francisco I. Madero*, *Lucio Perez*, etc., are more popular in Denver than in New Mexico.

There is a third group of Denver residents who have come into the area more recently. These are immigrants attracted by the agricultural industry, the bean fields around Brighton and the sugar-beet industry of northern Colorado. Their Mexican-Spanish traditions begin where the pre-world war II residents left off, and because of their familiarity with the current Mexican folksongs they have brought records and singers for their night-clubs who keep alive the modern Mexican singing tradition. One of these recent Mexican arrivals is the enterprising Paco Sanchez who set up Denver's Spanish radio station, and although he is now an American citizen he has not lost any of his ebullient interest in the Mexican *cancion* which can be heard on radio station KFSC-FM from early in the morning until late at night. Naturally, this outlet of folk music popularizes and diffuses the current as well as the older Mexican songs which the recording industry has revived. Add to this the juke-boxes in all the saloons, night clubs, restaurants and drugstores in north Denver, where the Spanish speaking population is centered and you will understand why so many Mexican folksongs have become part of the singing repertoire of Denver's Spanish speaking population.

These three Spanish speaking groups have the language in common, albeit the fact that there are many dialectal and morphological differences among the colonials and the Mexicans. They also have in common the desire to sing and hear Spanish folksongs whether it be in public or in the home, through the radio, the phonograph or in gath-

erings and wedding fiestas where a guitar is passed around with other forms of social enjoyment. There are professional singers who perform in public, either in night clubs or over the radio, but there are also traditional *cantadores* who sing in small friendly neighborhood gatherings. The former lean more toward the current Mexican folksong, while the older *cantadores* prefer the traditional songs they learned in their youth. The majority of these singers are originally from New Mexico where the troubadour has been a centuries-old institution. These old singers are the ones who still remember such Spanish traditional ballads as *Delgadina*, *A orillas de una fuente*, and *La Pulga*. They also sing the love ballads of the past century, brought into New Mexico by Mexican *carnaval* singers who sold printed broadsides after each performance. Some of these songs are no longer current in Mexico, but *cantadores* in Denver like Arculiano Barela and Jose Genario Apodaca sing such songs as *Antonia*, *Chasco del Enamorado*, and *Enseñame a querer* as though they were current today. The repertoire of these *cantadores* is unbelievably rich. They can sing an entire evening without repeating themselves. It is customary in most folk weddings in Denver to perform the ceremony called *La Entrega de Novios*, where the troubadour sings out all the responsibilities of the newlyweds and the *padrinos*.

One of the most interesting groups, historically, although quite small, is composed of Sephardic Jewish families who came to Denver before and during World War II from the Levant. These *Sefarditas*, while they speak English outside of the home and with their children, have not forgotten their original *ladino* language, and still sing such folksongs as "*Una hija bova tengo*" and "*A la una yo nassi*." About two months ago an Anglo folk singer sang these songs at a dinner and created a sensation when he explained that they were Sephardic Spanish songs collected in Denver.

Most of the songs included here are taken verbatim from older informants with a richer traditional background. Taken as a whole, the songs which the Denver Spanish speaking community sings include Spanish ballads, *corridos*, *Inditas*, *coplas*, and a number of romantic and tragic love songs which are not the currency of the younger generation. They also have a good proportion of humorous songs with a semi-critical twist to them in addition to many which are strictly satirical.

The metrical forms of the songs consist, as would be expected in folk poetry, of the traditional eight-syllable line or *pie de romance* (ballad foot meter.) There is wide use made also of the alternating seven

and five syllable lines in *seguidilla* form with a few five-syllable meters employed in the romantic folksongs.

### *The Songs*

#### A. Ballads

The traditional Spanish ballad most widely diffused in Denver is *Delgadina*. There are as many versions of it as there are singers, the more archaic version, coming from New Mexico and a more modern one from Mexico.<sup>1</sup> The New Mexican version reads:

Delgadina se paseaba por una sala cuadrada  
Con su manto de hilo de oro que ensu pecho relumbrada.<sup>2</sup>

The Mexican version is more on the order of a *corrido*, and is entitled "*El Corrido de Delgadina*," sung by Lidia Mendoza. The Mexican versions add the local with such lines as:

Porque nos vamos a misa en la ciudad de Morelia,  
Porque nos vamos a misa en la ciudad de Durango.

The *Corrido de Elena* is again another Spanish ballad that had become modernized and adapted to the Mexican *corrido* tradition. The original ballad was known as *Bernal Francés* and also called *Don Fernando el Francés* or *Andrés Francés*.<sup>1</sup> A woman named Elena has been receiving the attentions of a man from France and after husband Benito becomes aware of her inconstancy, the latter arranges a rendezvous with her, disguised as her lover. She chides him for his coldness at first, but asks for mercy when her disloyalty is discovered by her disguised husband. In the end Elena dies and the French lover is killed in an ensuing duel. The first line of *Bernal Francés* is reminiscent of *El Capotín*.<sup>2</sup>

Que trabajos pasa un hombre  
Por disfrutar de placeres  
Poniendo su vida en riesgo  
Por amor a las mujeres.

<sup>1</sup>Henríquez Ureña, Pedro, "Romances en América," *Cuba Contemporánea*, December 1913, p. 347.

<sup>2</sup>Campa, A. L., *Spanish Folk Poetry in New Mexico*, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1946, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup>Campa, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-52.

<sup>4</sup>Alonso Cortés, Narciso, *Romances Tradicionales de Castilla*, Valladolid, p. 82, No. 1233.



The stanza which tells of the paramour's death is more like a Mexican *corrido*:

Echó mano a su pistola,  
Calibre de treinta y tres.  
Cuatro balazos le dio  
Don Benito al francés.

There is another ballad with which *Elena* is confused, but actually it is a much older one, known as *La Adúltera*. This one is assonated in "i".

¡Válgame la Virgen pura, Válgame el santo San Gil!  
Qué caballerito es este que las puertas me hace abrir?

And for the death of the lovers, the husband does not use the modern six-shooter, as in the preceding one, but the more dramatic sword.

Mañana por la mañana te cortaré el vestir  
Tu cuerpo será la grana y mi espada el carmesí.

An interesting short ballad known ordinarily as *La Calandria* is sung in Denver under the title of *El Gurriñoncito*. In the original ballad, the *gorriñoncito* or little sparrow arrives on the scene to commiserate with a bird who has been left holding the empty cage by a lark who tricked him into freeing her. The version from Denver is a little garbled, and the sparrow is the one who is tricked by the lark. The older version begins with:

Estaba una calandria pendiente a un balcón  
Y en una jabla de oro lloraba su prisión.<sup>1</sup>

The one from Denver is more modern:

Estaba la calandria sentada en su balcón  
Y en una jaula de oro lloraba su prisión.

The ballad of *El Borreguito* is widely sung in New Mexico<sup>2</sup> and is almost identical to the one collected in Denver, except that the Denver version is the longest one known to date. It is interesting to know how ballad-like the opening lines are:

Qué bonito borreguito, me diras quién te lo dio.  
A mí no me lo dio naiden, mi dinero me costó.

<sup>1</sup>Espinosa, Aurelio M., *Folklore de California*, p. 8; Campa, *op. cit.*, p. 218. Hernando Vol. XII, p. 528; see Campa, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup>Mendez Pelayo, Marcelino, *Antología de Poetas Líricos Castellanos*, ed.

The refrain is also characteristic of the traditional ballad, although it was used to accompany a folk dance by the same name.

Sale la blanca, sale la fea,  
Sale el borrego con su salea.  
Pan y aguardiente no quiero de ella,  
Y aunque reviente junto con ella,

The ballad of *La Pulga* is a Spanish type going back to what, in Spanish, is known as *Disparates* and in México as *Mentiras*. This type of humorous song or ballad cites impossible feats about animals. They run all the way from *El Piojo y la Liendre*, *El Cuervo*, *El Gorgojo* and others. The one collected in Denver is entitled *La Pulga*, the flea, the same title of the one collected in Mexico by Vicente Mendoza,<sup>1</sup> and apparently from the same country, to judge by the first line:

En México se apareció una pulga brinco y brinco  
Y la gente que la vio pensó que era el antecristo.

However, the version from Denver is different from any other published to date. There are many other ballads found in this metropolitan area, but the foregoing are sufficient to give an idea of the strength of this tradition in the northern reaches of Spanish folklore in the United States.

#### B. *Corridos*

The *corrido*, which in a sense is a modern extension of the Spanish traditional ballad, is not only sung in Denver, but some of the well-known ones have been composed by one of Denver's troubadours, Mr. Arculiano Barela who is now in his seventies. Back in 1930 a man named Rosendo Moya killed a man named Joseph Sims. He was caught and executed in Canon City State Prison. Mr. Barela composed a *corrido* to him in 1934 and at present still sings a shorter version of the original composition. A certain degree of acculturation is expressed in the lines:

A mi Bessie y a mi Fred  
Se les acabó la esperanza.

Another Colorado *corrido*, also by Barela, is the one telling of the "Ludlow Massacre" of 1914, although the *corrido* is known as *El Es-*

<sup>1</sup>Mendoza, Vicente T., *El Romance Español y el Corrido Mexicano*, Imprenta universitaria, Mexico, 1939, p. 741.

*traique de 1910*. This is an indigenous composition full of anglicisms such as the one in the title. The *corrido* speaks of *esquiabes* for scabs and *estraiue* for strike. The song tells the story of what happened when the labor unions were trying to get established in the mines of southern Colorado and the clash they had with the state militia. The Ludlow strike and eventual bloody clash marks the beginning of organized labor in Colorado. The Spanish speaking troubadour, true to his own traditions, composed a *corrido* in praise of the people's efforts:

Que viva, y que viva  
Y que viva la nación,  
Que aquí estamos peleando  
Por una fuerte unión.

The more popular *corridos* of Mexico are well known in the Denver area, but there are also some rather unusual ones which belong to an older tradition like the one of *Pedreto Pérez* and another one known as *El Vaquero*. The former has an interesting introduction:

Año de mil ochocientos  
Primera cuestión probaron  
Pio Quinto y Pedreto Pérez  
A balas José mataron.

*El Vaquero* is a Spanish version of the songs of the trail which were written in English. The story tells the hardships of cowboys driving cattle to Kansas from the Mexican border.

Cuando salimos para Kansas  
Con aquella gran novillada  
Ay! que trabajos pasamos  
Allá en aquella llanada.

Quinientos eran los novillos  
Y toditos muy livianos  
No los podíamos dominar  
Entre quince mexicanos.

There is another *corrido* which speaks of Colorado and which may be indigenous to the state:

Todo el Río Colorado  
Pasé comiendo sandilla  
Y hoy mismo me veo sepultado  
Lo mismo que una semilla.

Caballo alazán tostado  
 Ese fué el que me mató  
 Si no lo hubieran cansado  
 Desde que primero corrió.

Many other *corridos* from Mexico are well known. Most of the old singers are familiar with *Lucio Pérez*, *Rosita Álvarez*, *Felix Rivera* and *Macario Romero*.

### C. *Inditas*

One type of song still in evidence is the *indita*, a song-dance form indigenous to New Mexico. Originally, the subject of this *corrido*-form was an Indian, but like the *jarabes* of old, they were danced and sung. Today the Coloradoans still dance to the music of an *indita* in the San Luis Valley, but around the Denver area they simply sing the words. All of the *inditas*, as far as known, were composed in New Mexico and were danced at the *bailes* as far south as Doña Ana County. The *Indita de Costales* was composed in this very county where the Costales family settled.

Qué tal llanto formarían  
 Las indias en sus jacales  
 Al recibir la noticia  
 Que ya era muerto Costales.

There are several rather interesting *inditas*, but the most popular one is the one of Manuelito, an Apache warrior well known for his prowess in war.

Yo sol el indio Manuel  
 El hermano de Mariano  
 Que con la flecha en la mano  
 Empalmo de dos y tres  
 Sea indio o sea cristiano  
 Sea americano o francés.

### D. *Canciones*

Anything that is not a ballad, a *corrido*, an *indita* or a *cuándo* is referred to as "*una canción*," and the only way the folk has of differentiating is by qualifying them as *viejas* if they are old, *de ahora* when current or *jocosas* when funny. All the folksongs in this particular category may be divided or grouped according to theme, as follows: amorous, tragic, satirical, humorous and a miscellaneous group of those which do not fit any category. Not included in this study are record-

ings by professional singers heard daily over the radio. The selections herein studied are those which are known today only through tradition. Even so, this type of song, the *cancion*, is more apt to be conventionalized than the older ballads already discussed. The first stanzas of each of those which fall under the amorous grouping will give an idea of their content.

### TRIGUEÑA HERMOSA

Trigueña hermosa  
Tu corazón  
Me has ofrecido.  
Pues, que no sabes  
Si en algún tiempo  
Me corresponde.

### ENSÉÑAME A AMAR

Enséñame a amar  
Enséñame a querer.  
No me enseñes a olvidar  
Que eso no quiero aprender.

### ANTONIA, ANTONIA

Antonia, Antonia  
La dueña de mis amores  
Cuando te vido,  
Se me regocija el alma.

### AMIGO NO SÉ QUÉ HACER

Amigo no sé qué hacer  
Con esa mujer.  
Que no la puedo olvidar.  
Por dondequiera que ando  
Se me afigura que la oigo hablar.

### OJOS DE TRES COLORES

Hay unos ojos  
De tres colores  
Que al alma mía  
Muerte le dan.

Azules unos  
Cual es el cielo  
Verdes lo otros  
Cual es la mar.

Still in the romantic vein but either telling of a tragedy or bewailing an unrequited love are the following:

### BAJARÉ SILENCIOSO A LA TUMBA

Bajaré silencioso a la tumba  
A buscar mi perdido sosiego  
Tú bien sabes que te amo y te adoro  
Y por ti yo seré infeliz.

### EN TRINIDAD ME CASÉ

En Trinidad me casé  
De allá me vine en el tren  
Si mi padre supiera  
Los trabajos que pasé.

### MI MARIDO ES UN BORRACHO

Mi marido es un borracho  
No se acuerda ya de mí.  
Se mantiene en las tabernas  
Sin apuro y sin cuidado.

### EN LA CANTINA DE DENVER

En la cantina de Denver  
Fue donde yo comencé  
A tomar tragos de whisky  
Hasta que me emborraché.

### YO SOY LA RECIEN CASADA

Yo soy la recién casada  
Que lloraba sin cesar  
De verme enajenada  
Sin poderlo remediar.

There is another group of songs which shows a marked critical tendency, although in typical Spanish fashion, the criticism is not vitriolic or bitter; in fact, it is rather humorous. One of these is a comparison between Mexican women and American women, probably written shortly after the American occupation.

### AMERICANOS Y MEXICANAS<sup>1</sup>

Del centro de los Estados  
Viene una americanita  
Viene a defender su patria  
Con una mejicanita.

<sup>1</sup>Campa, *op. cit.*, p. 215.



Del centro de los Estados  
Vienen americanitas  
Representando ser gordas  
Aunque sean delgaditas. (Change in fashion!)

Nosotros las mexicanas  
Semos de color estable  
Ustedes americanas  
Por qué se untan albayalde?

Along the same theme there is a song called *Me casé con una güerita* where the husband tells all the misfortunes that befell him when he married an American girl.

Me casé con una güera  
Güera de mi corazón.  
Que apenas abro la boca,  
y Zas! me da un bofetón.

Yo lavo la ropa y plancho  
Las camas las he de hacer  
Y la güerita se sienta  
Sus novelas a leer.  
Un día me cayó la suerte  
La güerita se me enfermó  
Yo le truje el dotor  
Pero siempre se murió.

Ahora sí estoy solo y libre  
Para pasear trigueñitas  
Con una docena de reales,  
Ya no quiero más güeritas.

Probably one of the best of the satirical songs known in Denver is the one entitled *Las Pochas de California*. More verses of this song have been collected in Denver than anywhere else to date. The "Pochcos" are Spanish speaking Californians who are not so Spanish-speaking any longer. Like the *güerita* of the preceding song, Anglo-American women are mildly satirized for being so acquisitive, demanding and imperious.

Yo invité a una pocha  
Pa pasearnos en el tren  
Lo primero que me dijo:  
—Quiero un vestido también.

Bonito California  
Donde se gozan placeres  
Por lo que a mí no me gusta  
Que allí mandan les mujeres.

Las pochas de California  
No saben comer tortilla  
Porque a la hora de la comida  
Piden pan con mantequilla.

The *Coplas de Don Simón* were at one time popular in the city of Mexico and from this urban center they traveled north where they are perhaps better known among the folk than in the south. In New Mexico the troubadours have added verses to *Don Simón*, bringing him up to date, but they still preserve the social satire of the fickleness of women.

Don Simón, los setenta cumplidos  
Bueno y sano, y Gracias a Dios  
Y del tiempo fatal corrompido  
Presenciando el escándalo atroz.

There are a number of songs which satirize young maidens who are pining to get married despite the fact that they are not versed in the art of housekeeping. This is a typical one:

Hay muchas niñas  
Que a los quince años  
Desean marido  
Que no a barrer  
Y ni a guisar  
Han aprendido.

Pero eso sí  
Que están rogando  
Enternamente  
El encontrarse  
Un maridito  
Que sea prudente.

In Mexico City they used to sing a similar satire directed at the young men and entitled *Los Pollos de la Capital*. This is sung in Denver too:

Yo conozco algunos pollos  
De variada condición  
Que desean ser casados  
Sin salir del cascarón.

A la solitéa a la solitá  
Estos son los pollos de la capital!

Some of the songs or *canciones* are strictly humorous and meant only to entertain. There is the *Chasco de un Enamorado*, or the joke on the lovesick swain who saw a girl in the distance and fell in love with her. When he went to court her he found out that she was bald-headed, toothless, etc., ad absurdum—in short, a hag.

Yo me paseaba  
Por una pradera,  
Y vi una hechisera  
Y bella mujer.  
Mi pobre alma  
Quedó facinada  
Y embriagada  
De dicha y placer.

Yo que soñaba  
Gozar aventura  
Con esa criatura  
Tan angelical.  
Siendo que era  
Tan solo pintura  
Su horrible figura  
Atroz infernal.

One of the old Spanish customs which has survived to the present time is the one usually called *Entriega de Novios*. In Denver today, even upper middle class Spanish speaking families preserve the interesting custom of having a troubadour sing the traditional song that recites the responsibilities of the bride and groom as well as those of the *padrinos*.

En nombre de Dios comienzo  
Y de San José y María  
Para entregar a estos novios  
Que se han casado este día.  
Pues Dios con su poder  
Y Adán con sabiduría  
Pues le sacó las costia  
Y de allí formó una mujer.

Perhaps the oldest songs known in Denver are those sung by the Sephardic Jews who moved here from the Levant, particularly from Turkey and the island of Rhodes. The two *ladino* songs which are in circulation today in Denver are probably from Turkey, to judge by

the refrain "*Barmeenam!*" which in Turkish means "Heaven forbid!"

One of the songs is entitled "*Una hija bova tengo,*"

Una hija bova tengo, Barmeenam!  
Me la yaman genjere, Barmeenam!  
Quande salin a la plassa, Barmeenam!  
Me la azen kerpasé,  
Me la azen kerpasé,  
Me la azen kerpasé.

and the other, "*A la una yo nassí*"

A la una yo nassí  
A las dos m'engrandessi  
A las tres tomí amante  
A las quatro me cassí.

Dime niña dónde vienes  
Que te quero conosser  
Dime si tienes amante  
Te lo aré defender.

Insofar as the folksong is concerned, the Spanish speaking community of metropolitan Denver is no different from any other Spanish speaking community in the Southwest. They sing and they listen to songs which perhaps express for them with more sincerity the feelings that they enjoy as an integral part of their Spanish-Mexican heritage.

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## PROVERBS AND PROVERBIAL PHRASES IN THE PLAYS OF JOHN MARSTON

by Archer Taylor

JOHN MARSTON (1575?-1634), one of the lesser Jacobean and Caroline dramatists, is best known an innovator in play-writing. Students of folklore have not often looked into his plays. As the following collection shows, he made generous use of proverbial lore. Some aphoristic remarks have been included in the hope that more evidence will be forthcoming to determine their character. Such remarks cannot always be readily separated from proverbs. The same is true of comparisons, all or almost all of which have been included, since we do not have a dictionary of traditional comparisons and cannot easily identify what is traditional. The edition used is that by H. H. Wood, *The Plays of John Marston*, 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1934-1939. The annotation has been kept to a minimum. I have chiefly used Morris P. Tilley, *A Dictionary of Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor, 1950) and have supplemented it by G. L. Apperson, *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases* (London, [1929]); W. M. Carroll, *Animal Conventions in English Renaissance Non-Religious Prose* (New York, [1954]); *A New English Dictionary* (13 vols., Oxford, 1884-1928. Supplement, 1933), which is cited as NED; W. G. Smith and Janet E. Haseltine, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* (2d., Oxford, 1948), which is cited as *Oxford*; Burton E. Stevenson, *The Home Book of Proverbs, Maxims and Proverbial Phrases* (New York, 1948); Archer Taylor, *Proverbial Comparisons and Similes from California*, *Folklore Studies*, 3 (Berkeley, 1954); Archer Taylor and Bartlett Jere Whiting, *A Dictionary of American Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases 1820-1880* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958); and Bartlett Jere Whiting's two books, *Chaucer's Use of Proverbs* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934) and *Proverbs in the Earlier English Drama* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938).

A student of proverbs will find the showpiece of this collection under "Westward." The quotations given here will explain the phrase "to go West." This explanation could to be sure have been derived by combining the information in J. S. Farmer and W. E. Henley, *Slang and Its Analogues* (7 vols., London, 1890-1904), VII 248-249 (Tyburn) and Eric Partridge, *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional*

*English* (4th ed., London, [1951]), p. 337 (go west). From the first of these we learn that "the Tyburn gallows stood in the angle formed by the Edgeware Road and Oxford Street. In 1778 this was two miles out of London." It is hardly necessary to add that Tyburn was in the west. To this location Robert Greene alluded in 1592, when he wrote: "So long the foists (i.e., thieves) put their villanie in practise, that West-ward they goe, and there solemnly make a rehearsall sermon at tiberne" (quoted from Partridge). We need not think that "to go West" refers to the setting sun, and least of all to Hiawatha's journey thither. Briefly and simply, it is a euphemism for "to go to Tyburn," i.e., "to be hanged" and thus "to die."

Adder. I will be deafe as an Adder. *Eastward Hoe* V ii, p. 159. Svartengren 174-175; Tilley A32.

Adultery. Adultery is often the mother of incest. *Malcontent* I iii, p. 149.

Aetna. as heavie . . . As *Aetna* . . . on groning *Pelorus*. *Antonios Revenge* IV iv, p. 122.

Air, I. Thou deare as aire. *Fawne* III, p. 190; a ring, as deare as the ayre to him. *Dutch Curtezan* 11 i, p. 92. Cf. Breathe.

2. And I am free as ayre. *Countess* I i, p. 6; he is as free as ayre. *Malcontent* I iii, p. 146. *Lean* II 832; Svartengren 340; Tilley A88; Stevenson 888: 3. Cf. Taylor *Comparisons* 42 breeze.

3. Come then Saint *Marke* lett's be as light as aire. *What You Will* II i, p. 252. Svartengren 338; Taylor *Comparisons* 53; Tilley A90.

4. lets talke as loose as ayre. *What You Will* II i, p. 248.

5. See Castle.

Almanac. as uncertaine as an Almanacke. *Jacke Drum* I, p. 189.

Anatomy. I would leave thee as bare as an Anatomy at the second viewing. *Countess* I i, p. 10. Cf. Svartengren 253 skull, skeleton.

April. When I was absent then her galled eyes Would have shed Aprill showers. *Countess* II, p. 34.

Argus. her Argos eyes. *Countess* I i, p. 6; V, p. 81; *Malcontent* II iv, p. 169. Cf. Oxford 184 as many eyes as; Tilley A314, E254.



- Babe. babes and fooles, I know, Relish not substance, but applaud the showe. *Antonio Revenge* V v, p. 128. Stevenson 2079-2080: 12 Catch not the shadow and lose the substance.
- Banbury cheese. and you are like a Banbery cheese, Nothing but paring. *Jacke Drum* III, p. 212. Lean II 760; Svartengren 185, cf. 292; Tilley C268.
- Battledore. handes as hard as battle-dores. *Histrio-Mastix* II i, p. 260.
- Bayard. What *Bayard* boulder then the ignorant? *What You Will* I, p. 233. Svartengren 112; Tilley B112; Whiting *Drama* 304 no. 17.
- Bear. He that can bear with must (i.e., compulsion), he cannot die. *Malcontent* IV iii, p. 190.
- Beard, I. relate! short. As a Lawyers beard. *Malcontent* I iii, p. 148.  
2. They say 'tis merry in hall, when beards wag all. *Histrio-mastix* II, p. 267. Tilley H55.
- [Because]. Faith onely a womans reason, because I was expressly forbidden to love him. *Fawne* III, p. 182. Tilley B179.
- Bee. a treasure-house, Where Angells swarme like Bees in *Plenties* streets. *Histrio-Mastix* II, p. 256. Cf. Whiting *Drama* p. 305.
- Beetle. I will be . . . blind as a Beetle. *Eastward Hoe* V ii, p. 159. Lean II 809; Svartengren 19; Tilley B219.
- Belly. The belly hath no eares. *Antonio and Mellida* II, p. 21. Tilley B286.
- Bird. they are birds of a feather, and will flye together. *Countess* II, p. 28. Tilley B393.
- Birth. untimely births want power to grow. *Countess* I, p. 15.
- Black. Carefull, I, I, let nothing without good blacke and white. *Jacke Drum* I, p. 187. Cf. Tilley B439.
- Blood. Blood cries for bloode; and murder murder craves. *Antonios Revenge* III iii, p. 105. Oxford 52; Tilley B458.

- Bloom. My love as pure, As the first opening of the bloomes in  
May. *Countess* I i, p. 7.
- Blue. drinke till the ground looke blew, boy. *What You Will*  
V, p. 294. Svartengren 203.
- Bodkin. I am your vowed enemy, from the bodkin to the pincase.  
*Countess* I, p. 11.
- Book. He has beene long in the black booke. *Dutch Curtesan*  
IV i, p. 123. *Oxford* 56.
- Breach. this an old saw hath bin, Faiths-breach for love, and  
kingdoms is no sin. *Fawne* IV, p. 210. Tilley K90.
- Breast. Sounds soft as Leda's breast. *Sophonisba* V iii, p. 58.  
Cf. Svartengren 267 pillow-down, swan's down.
- Breasted. Be open breasted, so will I to thee. *Countess* III p.  
42. Cf. *Oxford* 96 clean breast. Cf. *Malcontent* I vii, p. 159  
thou knowst I am a plaine breasted man.
- Breath. Yes, more loved then my breath. *Malcontent* V iv, p.  
217. Tilley A91. Cf. Air 1.
- Breeches. women weare the breeches still. *Antonio and Mellida*,  
Induction, p. 7; IV, p. 50; she weares the breeches. *What You*  
*Will* V, p. 287. Tilley B645.
- Brew. as she has brew'd, so let her drinke. *Eastward Hoe* IV,  
p. 147. Tilley B654.
- Bridegroom. He is faire, gallant, rich, neate as a Bride-groome.  
*What You Will* II i, p. 245. Cf. Svartengren 222 fresh.
- Bull. he who feares a bull, Must cut his hornes off when he is a  
calfe. *Fawne* II p. 173.
- Bur. as dry as the burre of an heartichoke. *Antonio and Mel-*  
*lida* V, p. 56. Cf. Svartengren 148 kex.
- Buske. As glib and straight in outward semblance, as a Ladies  
buske. *Antonio and Mellida*, Induction, p. 6.
- Calamity. Calamity gives man a steddy heart. *Antonios Re-*  
*venge* V vi, p. 132. Cf. Tilley C15a Calamity (Extremity) is  
the touchstone of a brave mind.

- Calf. See Change, Essex calf.
- Camel. Yes, the Camell always drinkes in puddle water (ed. B: the channeli alwaies drinkes the puddle water). *Countess* I i, p. 12. Carroll *Animal Conventions* p. 95.
- Camomile. a repressed fame mountes like Camomyll, the more trod down, the more it growes. *Fawne* II i, p. 165. Tilley C34.
- Candle. Now me thinks I hold the candle to the diuel. *Jacke Drum* II, p. 196. Tilley C42.
- Casting-bottle. As sweet and neat as a Barbours casting-bottle. *Antonio and Mellida*, Induction, p. 8.
- Castle. Alas all the Castles I have, are built with ayre. *Eastward Hoe* II, p. 110. Tilley C126.
- Cat. Why then thou hast nine lives like a Cat. *Dutch Curtezian* III i, p. 100; May they have nine lives like a Cat. *Countess* V, p. 76. Tilley C154.
- Caterpillar. To shew thou would'st prove a Caterpillar (i.e., a cheat). *Countess* I, p. 9. NED Caterpillar 2.
- Cavalier. showse quoth the Caliver (sic). *Eastward Hoe* I, p. 101.
- Censor. as grave as some Censor. *Antonio and Mellida* V, p. 56. Cf. Svartengren 59 judge.
- Change, I. change of pasture makes fat calves. *Antonio Revenge* III iv, p. 105. Lean II 729; Tilley C230.  
2. Change is no robbery. *Countess* II, p. 22. Tilley C228.
- Chastely. if not chastely, yet charily. *Malcontent* IV i, p. 186. Tilley L381.
- Chaste. she's chaste whom none will have. *Countess* I i, p. 6. Tilley S608.
- Cheater. Cheaters & Bawds go together like washing & wringing. *Dutch Curtezian* III i, p. 110. Cf. NED Wringing vbl. sb. 2.
- Cheek. will you cast a smooth cheeke upon me? *Dutch Curtezian* IV i, p. 114.

- Child, I. no more intention to be cozend on't, than the child new borne. *Dutch Curtezan* III i, p. 109. Cf. Taylor *Comparisons* 51 innocent.
2. children & fooles speake truthe alwaies. *Jacke Drum* IV, p. 221. Tilley C328.
3. a burne childe feere de fire. *Jacke Drum* I, p. 193. Tilley C297.
- Christian. As I am a true Christian now. *Antonio and Mellida* II, p. 24. Cf. Shakespeare *Richard III* I iv 4 as I am a Christian faithful man.
- Coal, 1. a thinne cole-black beard. *Antonio and Mellida* I, p. 17. Taylor *Comparisons* 17; Tilley C458.
2. now your Ladishippe and you may both blowe at the Cole, for ought I know. *Eastward Hoe* V i, p. 155. Tilley C465.
- Cock. all cock sure. *Antonios Revenge* IV iii, p. 117. *Whit-Drama* p. 338.
- Color. Then came in after him, one that (it seem'd) fear'd no colours. *Countess* II i, p. 20. *Lean* III 301-302; Tilley C520.
- Colt. The Ragged Colt may prove a good Horse. *Eastward Hoe* V iv, p. 166. Tilley C522.
- Cord. *Plinius secundus, or marcus Tullius Cycero*, or somebodie it is saies, that a three-foulde corde is hardlie broken. *Dutch Curtezan* V, p. 134. Eccl. 4: 12.
- Country. A just mans country Jova makes everywhere. *Sophonisba* III ii, p. 40.
- Cow. thou art not the first good Cow has had an ill Calfe. *Eastward Hoe* IV, p. 147. Tilley C761.
- Crab orange. she speakes as sharply and lookes as sowerly, as if she had beene new squeased out a crab oreng (ed. A omits orange). *Fawne* III, p. 180. Cf. Svartengren 304 crabapple; Tilley C783.
- Creature. As I am a sensible creature. *Fawne* V, p. 220.

- Crocodile. The teares of the *Crocodile*. *Eastward Hoe* V iv, p. 164. Tilley C831.
- Crystal. cleare as is ye Christall streame. *Histrion-Mastix* II, p. 264. Taylor *Comparisons* 26; Tilley C875.
- Cucullus. Cucullus non facit Monachum. *Eastward Hoe* III, p. 132. Tilley H586.
- Cup. But much much (sic) falls betwixt the cup and lip. *What You Will* IV, p. 276. Tilley T191.
- Curse. I will not curse or cary. *Dutch Curtezan* III i, p. III.
- Custard. her face is richly yeallow, as the skin of a cold Custard. *Jacke Drum* I, p. 190.
- Custom. Custome is a second nature. *What You Will* III i, p. 262. Tilley C932.
- Cyprus. why death a sence I court the Ladie? I was not born in Cyprus. *Fawne* II, p. 174.
- Day of Doom. as horrid as the hideous day of doome. *Antonio and Mellida* I, p. 13.
- Death. Death is the end of woes, and teares relief. *Malcontent* IV v, p. 195. Cf. Tilley D141.
- Deed. good deedes crawle, but mischiefe flies. *Malcontent* IV iii, p. 192. Perhaps based on the "Ill news" proverbs, for which see Tilley N145, 147, 148.
- Deer. As Deere being stricke flie thorow many soyles. . . A good olde simile, my honest Lord. *Malcontent* III i, p. 174.
- Devil, 1. He goes as twere the Devell fetch the Lawyer. *Eastward Hoe* III, p. 126. Cf. Tilley D258, H407 L128.  
 2. And where the Divell has the Fee-simple, he will keep possession. *Countess* III p. 50.  
 3. Ile play the Divell, but ile recover it. *Dutch Curtezan* II p. 97. Cf. Whiting *Drama* p. 341.
- Diamond. for tis found None cuts a Diamon[d] but a Diamond. *Malcontent* IV iii, p. Tilley D323.

- Die, 1. Good gentlemen let one die but once. *Fawne* IV, p. 203.  
Cf. Tilley M219 A man can die but one manner of death.  
2. See Bear.
- Discretion. Mature discretion is the life of state. *Malcontent* IV v, p. 198.
- Do. we must do as we would be done too. *Eastward Hoe* III, p. 118. Matt. 7:12; Tilley D395.
- Dog, 1. Why so, now every dogge has his bone to knawe on.  
*Dutch Curtezan* III i, p. 103.  
2. I am to die a dogges death. *Countess* V, p. 75; If a dogges death were not strangling. *Malcontent* III i, p. 178. Tilley D509.
- Doit. a prince not worth a doite. *Antonio and Mellida* II, p. 29. *Oxford* 150.
- Down. a soule as soft as spotles down upon the swans faire brest.  
*Fawne* IV, p. 205. Taylor *Comparisons* 76; Whiting *Drama* p. 310. Of Breast.
- Dream. dreames you say proove not alwayes true. *Malcontent* III iv, p. 184. Tilley D587.
- Duck. make Duckes and Drakes with shillings. *Eastward Hoe* I, p. 94. Tilley D632.
- Dutch. Drinke Duch like gallants, lets drink upsey friese.  
*Jacke Drum* II, p. 206. NED Dutch C (only this quotation).
- Dutchman. The Dutchman for a drunkard, The Dane for golden lockes, The Irishman for usquebath, The Frenchman for the ( ).  
*Malcontent* V i, p. 200. The omitted word is pox. Cf. Tilley 189.
- Eagle. an eagle takes not flies. *Malcontent* V iv, p. 215. Carroll *Animal Conventions* pp. 101-102; Tilley El.
- Ear, 1. You have the Sowe by the right eare Sir. *Eastward Hoe* II, p. III; he has got the right eare of the Duke. *Fawne* II i, p. 159. Tilley S684.  
2. by the mas I would ha you all by the eares. *What You Will* IV, p. 282. Cf. Tilley E23 To set (fall) together by the eares; Whiting *Drama* p. 343 no. 518.



- Earth, 1. is fine as earth. *Malcontent* III v, p. 185.  
 2. lowe as the earth. *Malcontent* V iv, p. 213.
- Edge. Burning the edge off from the present Joy. *Countess* I, p. 14.
- Edge-tool. he's no edge-toole, you may jest with him. *What You Will* II i, p. 248. Tilley J45.
- Egg. See Sheepshearing.
- Elephant. Truly I am as nimble as an Elephant about a Ladie. *Antonios Revenge* I v, p. 82.
- Emperor, 1. a tongue, As fetterlesse as an Emperours. *Malcontent* I iii p. 150.  
 2. as free as Emperoures. *Malcontent* IV v, p. 197.
- End. There's some end (i.e., purpose) in everything. *Fawne* III, p. 189.
- Erebus. As darke as *Erebus*. *Antonios Revenge* I iv, p. 81. Svartengren 237. Cf. Taylor and Whiting p. 121.
- Erra Pater. Welcome *Erra Pater*, you that make Prognostications for ever. *Jack Drum* III, p. 218.
- Essex calf. these women Sir, are like Essex Calves, you must wriggle 'hem on by the tayle still, or they never will drive orderly. *Eastward Hoe* II, p. 110 Thomas D'Urfey *Wit and Mirth: or Pills to Purge Melancholy* (reprint, N. Y., 1959) IV 43; Tilley C21.
- Ethiop. I washt an Ethiop. *Malcontent* IV iii, p. 190. Jer. 13:23; Tilley E186.
- Eye, 1. Cat's eyes. *Countess* V ii, p. 79. Tilley C180.  
 2. The eye sees all things but his proper selfe. *Fawne* IV p. 206. Tilley E232.  
 3. I have an eie unto the maine chance. *Dutch Curtezan* V, p. 134. Tilley E235.
- Falling. Sometimes a falling out, proves falling on. *Dutch Curtezan* IV i, p. 114 (cf. pp. 322-323). Tilley F40.
- Famine. I am as gant, as lean ribd famine. *Antonios Revenge* V ii, p. 124.

- Fashion. as unconstant as the fashion. *Jacke Drum* I, p. 189.  
NED Fashion 10, quot. 1601.
- Fat. thy braine boiles, keele it, keele it, or all the fatt's in the fire.  
*What You Will*, Induction, p. 231; If our parrell be not poynt-  
device the fatt's i'th fire. *Histrion-Mastix* I i, p. 251. Tilley  
F 79.
- Fate, 1. As firm as fate. *Sophonisba*, Argumentum, p. 6, III ii,  
p. 40. Tilley F81.  
2. as powrefull as the voice of fate. *Antonios Revenge* I iii,  
p. 79.  
3. as sure as fate. *Malcontent* II v, p. 171.
- Fear, 1. Feare keepe with cowards. *Countess* III, p. 41.  
2. They die in feare, who live in villanie. *Malcontent* V iv,  
p. 212.
- Feather. thy lips play with Feathers. *What You Will*, Induc-  
tion, p. 231. Cf. NED Feather 10 b.
- Female. Here *Fawnus*, a health as deepe as a female. *Fawne*  
II i, p. 160.
- Fico, Fig., 1. a *fico*, for the sower browd Zoilist. *What you*  
*Will* II i, p. 252; A Fico for the mew and Envious pish.  
*ibid.* V, p. 295. Tilley F210.  
2. thou bidst a fig for colde. *Antonios Revenge* I v, p. 84;  
and bids a *fico* for't. *Fawne* I ii, p. 157. Leon III 309;  
Whiting *Drama* p. 344 nos. 551, 553.
- Finger. Priests that for-sooke their functions to avoid a thawart  
stroke with a wet finger. *Fawne* IV, p. 196. Lean III 287-  
290; Tilley F234.
- Fire. he that doth dread a fire Must put out sparkes. *Fawne*  
II i, p. 173.
- Fish. Fish is cast away, that is cast in drye Pooles. *Eastward*  
*Hoe* V ii, p. 158. Tilley F307.
- Flat. Nay, for the Wenches, wee'll tickle them, that's flat. *Countess*  
III, p. 39; I'll be hand'd like an innocent, that's flat. *ibid.* III,  
p. 40. Tilley F345.

- Fly. Poor flies will tickle Lyons being dead. *Histrion-Mastix* VI, p. 294. cf. Tilley H165.
- Food. It's but ill food, when nothing's left but the Claw. *Eastward Hoe* V i, p. 156.
- Fool. See Babe.
- Fortune, 1. Fortune still doots on those who cannot blush. *Malcontent* II i, p. 163.  
 2. Fortune favours fooles. *Jacke Drum* I, p. 188. Tilley F600.  
 3. Fortune is blinde. *What You Will* I, p. 238. Tilley  
 4. The traine of Fortune is borne up by wit. *Malcontent* IV i, p. 191.
- Fox. The Fox grows fat when he is cursed. *Dutch Curtezan* III i, p. 106. Tilley F632.
- Free. Ther's nothing free but it is generous. *Fawne* I i, p. 148.
- Friend. a friend Should waigh no action. *Dutch Curtezan* V, p. 134.
- Frog. Your Lordship hath fish'd faire, and caught a Frog, as the saying is. *Eastward Hoe* IV, p. 146. Tilley F767.
- Gain. Light gaines make heavy purses. *Eastward Hoe*, I, p. 90. Tilley G7.
- Gelding. I am as guant as a hunting gelding after 3. trained sents. *Fawne* IV, p. 194.
- Gem. As Jems once lost are seldome or never found. *Countess* II, p. 25.
- Gentleman. Well, as I am true gentleman. *Antonio and Mellida* III, p. 37, IV, p. 49.
- Gold. as pure as the gold that hath bene seven times tryed in the fire. *Jacke Drum* I, p. 191. Cf. Tilley G284.
- Good. Good me no goods. *Antonio and Mellida* IV, p. 50.
- Grave. his appetite is unsatiable as the Grave. *Malcontent* I iii, p. 146.

Gravity. The bottome of gravitie is nothing like the toppe.  
*Fawne* I i, p. 148.

Greek. thats Greeke to you now. *Fawne* III, p. 188. Tilley  
G439; Whiting *Drama* p. 347 no. 594.

Hair 1. Ushers should have much wit, but little haire. *Countess* III,  
p. 51; Ang (i.e., And) me much bald, and me ang much bald  
wit. *Jacke Drum* II, p. 200. Tilley B736.

2. our daughter to a hair. *Fawne* IV, p. 208; *Jacke Drum*  
I, p. 191. Tilley H26.

Head. wise heads use but few words. *Fawne* I ii, p. 154. Cf.  
Tilley H276 A wise head makes a close mouth.

Heart. Beneath God naught's so deare as a calme heart. *Mal-*  
*content* I iii, p. 151.

Heaven, 1. Ample as Heaven. *What You Will* III i, p. 265.  
Cf. Svartengren 286 vast.

2. As beautious as the glorious frame of heaven. *Jacke*  
*Drum* IV, p. 228. Svartengren 214 beautiful.

3. heaven is over all. *Antonio and Mellida* IV, p. 43.  
Tilley H348.

Hedge. pale feares suspect that hedges, walls and trees have eares.  
*Malcontent* III ii, p. 180. Cf. Tilley W19 walls.

Hell, I. blacke as the soule of hell. *Antonios Revenge* I iv, p. 80.  
Tilley H397. Cf. Svartengren 241.

2. a large lye as vast as spacious hell. *Antonios Revenge* I  
v, p. 82. Cf. Svartengren 285 wide gaping like hell-gate.

Hercules, 1. Ile stand as confident as Hercules. *What You Will* III  
i, p. 265; *Histrion-Mastix* III i, p. 274.

2. backe of Hercules. *Malcontent* II v, p. 169.

Hill. he that climbs a hill Must wheele about. *What You Will*  
II i, 259.

Hip. but I ha him on the hippe. *Dutch Curtezan* III i, p. 102;  
but he said he had you a the hyp. *ibid.*, III i, p. 103. Tilley  
H474; Whiting *Drama* p. 349 no. 624.

Home. A wise mans home is wheresoere he is wise. *Antonios*  
*Revenge* II ii, p. 90; He is ever at home that's ever wise.  
*Malcontent* V iv, p. 210.

- Honest. As I am honest. *Fawne* II i, p. 166.
- Horn. You all know the devise of the Horne, where the young fellow slippes in at the Butte end, and comes squesd out at the Buck-all. *Eastward Hoe* I, p. 90. Tilley E131.
- Horse, I. as fast as my horse can trot. *Eastward Hoe* II, p. 110. Tilley H660. Cf. Svartengren 377.
2. A horse but yet a Colt may leave his trot. *Fawne* II i, p. 173.
  3. even as tis an olde say, Tis an old horse can neither wighy (i.e., whinny), nor wagge his tail. *Antonio and Mellida* III, p. 39. Tilley H671.
  4. What a man may leade a horse to the water, but heele chuse to drinke. *Jacke Drum* I, p. 187. Tilley H682, M262.
  5. I could weepe like a ston'd horse. *Antonio and Mellida* V, p. 61.
  6. See Colt.
- House. Here's a stirre when Citizens ride out of Towne indeed, as if all the house were a fire. *Eastward Hoe* III, p. 117. Cf. Taylor and Whiting, p. 194 House (5).
- Hugh. ho, blinde Gew would ha don't (i.e., done it) rarely, rarely, *Antonio and Mellida*, Induction, p. 8. Cf. Taylor, "The Use of Proper Names in Wellerisms and Folk Tales," *Western Folklore*, XVIII (1959) 287-293; Whiting *Drama* 177.
- Hunger. Hunger they say breakes stone wals. *Eastward Hoe* V, p. 153; They say, hunger breakes through stone walles. *Antonios Revenge* V ii, p. 124. Tilley H811.
- Hunter. talke as loude as a Hunter. *Eastward Hoe* V iv, p. 165.
- Ice, 1. Muscovia, where the Climate is 9. degrees colder than ice. *Countess* V, p. 81. Tilley 12.
2. Impudence . . . stiffe as Ice. *Dutch Curtezan* IV i, p. 120.
  3. I have broken the Ice to it already. *Eastward Hoe* II, p. 109. Tilley 13.
- Instep. I thought 'twas for some thing mistress *Joyce* jested at thy high insteps. *Dutch Curtezan* III i, p. 103. Tilley 184.

- Irishman. The Duke hates thee. As *Irishmen* do bum-crackes.  
*Malcontent* III iii, p. 181.
- Ivy. The flatterer like the Ivy clip the Oke. *Malcontent* V iv, p. 214. Cf. Tilley V61.
- Jail. As hungry as the Jawes of a Jayle. *Jacke Drum* I, p. 186.
- Job. Thou art very poore. As *Job*, an Alcumist, or a Poet.  
*Malcontent* III iii, p. 181. Taylor *Comparisons* 63 Job's turkey;  
Tilley J60.
- John. he lookes as pittifully, as a poore *John*. *Antonio and Mellida* V, p. 61.
- Joy. It is much joy to thinke on sorrowes past. *Dutch Curtezan* V, p. 130. Cf. Stevenson 1952:8.
- Judas. a Judas kisse. *Antonio Revenge* I i, p. 72. Wayland D. Hand "A Dictionary of Words and Idioms Associated with Judas Iscariot." *University of California Publications in Modern Philology*, XXIV (1942), 333-335; Tilley J92; Whiting *Drama* p. 351 no. 654.
- K. K. mee, K. thee, runnes through Court and Countrey. *East-Hoe* II, p. 104. Tilley K1.
- Knight. As I am true knight. *Antonio and Mellida* V, pp. 61, 62; *Antonios Revenge* I iii, p. 77; a true knight. *Antonio and Mellida* V, p. 56.
- Know. He that knows most, knows most how much he wanteth. *Malcontent*, Epilogus, p. 217; The more we know, the more we know we want. *What You Will*, Induction, p. 233.
- Lady. As I am a Lady. *Eastward Hoe* II, p. 113, III, p. 119.
- Lark, 1. Sing boy . . . like the mornings Larke. *Countess* III, p. 36. Tilley L70.  
2. See Sky.
- Late. Better late than never. *Countess* V, p. 72. Tilley L85.
- Leap. She leapes too rash, that falls in suddeine bande. *What You Will* V, p. 294.

- Lee. pree-thee shoote him through and through with a jest, make him lye by the lee. *What You Will*, II i, p. 247. NED Lee, sb.<sup>1</sup>.
- Leg. 1. as crosse as a paire of Tailor's legs. *Antonio and Melida*. Induction, p. 6.  
 2. The legge of a Larke is better than the body of a Knight. *Eastward Hoe* V i, p. 156. Tilley L186.
- Lent. Then we agree? As Lent and Fishmongers. *Malcontent* III iii, p. 182.
- Lightning, 1. Revenge as swift as lihgtning. *Antonios Revenge* III iii, p. 103. Taylor *Comparisons* 80; Tilley L279.  
 2. like lightning. *Malcontent*., IV iii, p. 192. Whiting *Drama* p. 319.
- Lip. I am as common in the Court as an hostesses lippes in the countrey. *Malcontent* I viii, p. 162.
- Look. Thou should'st have looked, before thou hadst leap't. *Eastward Hoe* V, p. 155. Tilley L429.
- Love, 1. Love hath no reason. *Jacke Drum* I, p. 190. Tilley L517 is without reason.  
 2. tis said true, Love is simple. *Countess* I i, p. 5.  
 3. Love should make marriage, and not marriage Love. *Jacke Drum* III, p. 212.
- Lucifer. as contemptuous as *Lucifer*. *What You Will* III i, p. 271.
- Lust. A womans lust was never satisfied. *Countess* IV, p. 58. Cf. Whiting *Chaucer* p. 97.
- M. You might carry a M under your girdle to Maister Deputies worship. *Eastward Hoe* IV, p. 148. Tilley M1; Whiting *Drama* p. 353 no. 698.
- Maidenhead. As tedious as a full rip'd Maidenhead. *Countess* I i, p. 7.
- Man, 1. In night the blind man misseth not his eies. *Malcontent* IV v, p. 195.



2. They say yet, drunken men never take harme. *Eastward Hoe* III, p. 133. Tilley M94.
  3. each man hath follies. *Dutch Curtezan* IV i, p. 115. Tilley M116 faults.
  4. As I am an honest man. *Dutch Curtezan* II, p. 86; IV i, p. 121.
  5. No man can be honest at all howers. *Malcontent* V ii, p. 205.
  6. Young men are fooles. *Fawne*, p. 185.
- Marriage. Marriage and hanging are spun both in one houre. *Dutch Curtezan* V, p. 136. Cf. Tilley W232. Wedding and hanging go by destiny.
- May. As fresh and jocond as the brest of May. *What You Will* II i, p. 252. Tilley M763 fresh as May.
- Maypole. He lookes like a May-pole, or a notched stick. *Antonio and Mellida* I, p. 17. Tilley M778.
- Merry. Tis good to be merry and wise. *Eastward Hoe* I, p. 90; Follow the Proverbe, Merry be and wise. *Countess* III, p. 46. Tilley G324.
- Milk. His head as white as mylke. *Eastward Hoe* III, p. 119. Taylor *Comparisons* 87; Tilley M931.
- Mind. I had a Months minde unto you. *Countess* I, p. 7. Tilley M1109.
- More. The more the merrier. *Malcontent* IV i, p. 187. Tilley M1153.
- Myrrh. sweeter then Myrrhe. *Countess* III, p. 47.
- Necessity, 1. Necessitie often depraves virtue. *Malcontent* V ii, p. 205.
2. Necessitie [hath] no right. *Jacke Drum* I, p. 183. Tilley N 76 law.
- Needle. a tongue as nimble as his needle. *Antonio and Mellida*, Induction, p. 6.
- Nest. those that scorne their nest, oft flye with a sicke wing. *Eastward Hoe* I, p. 94.

- Nick. Ile strike it in the nick, in the very nick. *Antonio and Mellida*, Induction, p. 6; i'the nicke. *Countess* I, p. 11; Have a care that you stand just i' the nicke about sixe a clocke in the evening. *ibid.* II, p. 23; in te very nick. *Jack Drum* III, p. 208.
- N. Say no, ang (i.e., and) take it. *Jacke Drum* IV, p. 227. Lean II 732; Tilley M34.
- Nut. The nut-browne ale. *Histrion-Mastix* I i, 250. Svartengren 253; Whiting *Drama* p. 321.
- Ounce. Ile make the (i.e., thee) skip like an Ounce. *Countess* I i, p. 10. NED Ounce, sb.<sup>2</sup>.
- Owl. how the signe of the Owle ith (i.e., in the) Ivy bush? *Histrion-Mastix* II, p. 258. Svartengren 211-212; Tilley 096.
- Own. My owne's my owne. *Antonios Revenge* II ii, p. 90. Tilley 0100.
- Ox. At last the black Oxe trode o' my foote. *Eastward Hoe* V iv, p. 166. Carroll *Animal Conventions* p. 111; Tilley 0103.
- Pardon. There needes no pardon, where there's no offence. *Countess* III p. 42. Oxford 195; Tilley F116.
- Paul's. he is as blunt as Pawles. *Jacke Drum* IV, p. 221.
- Penny. a pennie for thy thought. *Antonio and Mellida* II, p. 23. Tilley P203.
- Pepper. Sir you need not take the pepper in the nose. *Jacke Drum* I, p. 187. Tilley P231.
- Person. The hastie person never wants woe, they say. *Eastward Hoe* V i, p. 155. Tilley M159 man.
- Pippin squire. and so six to one I fall to be a Pippin squire. *What You Will* III, i, p. 271. NED Pippin 4.
- Plain dealing. Plaine dealing is the best when all is done. *Histrion-Mastix* III i, p. 273. Tilley P383.
- Pleasure. Where pleasure hath some profit, art is sweet. *Dutch Curtesan* V, p. 130.

Poor. poore and need hath no lawe. *Jacke Drum* I, p. 183.  
*Oxford* 445 necessity, need; Tilley N76.

Post. Ile tosee you from post to pillar. *What You Will* IV, p.  
 275. *Lean* III 286-287; Tilley P328.

Pride. eene let Pride goe afore, Shame will follow after you.  
*Eastward Hoe* IV; p. 147. Tilley P576.

Rat. by gor I smell a rat. *Jacke Drum* II, p. 201. Tilley  
 R31; *Whiting Drama* p. 364 no. 855.

Raven. Wilt fall upon my chamber tomorrow morne? As a  
 Raven to a dunghill. *Malcontent* II v, p. 172.

Resolute. Hees resolute who can no lower sinke. *Malcontent* I  
 iv, p. 152.

Rich, 1. I had rather live rich to die poore, then live poore to die rich.  
*Jacke Drum* I, p. 184. Cf. *Juvenal Sat.* 14. 136; Albert  
 Wesselski *Märchen des Mittelalters* (Berlin 1925) p. 236. Til-  
 ley 9539 Fools live poor to die rich; Stevenson 1589:2 It would  
 make a man scratch where it doth not itch, to see a man live poor  
 to die rich.

Rise. He must needes rise, who can no lower fall. *Malcontent*  
 IV v, p. 198. Cf. Tilley G464. He that lies upon the ground  
 can fall no lower.

River, 1. Rivers take names from Fountes where they begin. *Mal-*  
*content*, Epilogue, p. 217.

2. The greatest rivers flow from little springs. *Eastward Hoe*  
 I, p. 97.

Ruff. as grave as a Puritanes ruffe. *Antonio and Mellida*, In-  
 duction, p. 8.

Run. 'Tis good runne still with him that haz most might. *Mal-*  
*content* IV v, p. 196.

Sail. Thus few strike saile untill they run on shelve. *Fawne* IV,  
 p. 206.

Say. tho I say it, that shuld not say it. *Jacke Drum* I, p. 181.  
 Tilley S114.

- Sea. No sea so boundles vast but hath a shore. *What You Will*  
V, p. 294.
- Secrecy. secresie is the best evasion from envie. *What You Will*  
II i p. 253.
- Secret. See Two.
- Self. Selfe doe, selfe have. *Eastward Hoe* V i, p. 155. Tilley  
S217.
- Sheep. does any man thinke Ile goe like a sheepe to the slaughter?  
*Countess* I, p. 13.
- Sheep-shearing. as lawfull as sheepe-shearing, taking egges from  
hens, caudels from Asses, or buttered shrimps from horses. *Dutch*  
*Curtezan* III i, p. 106.
- Shears. there goes but a pair of sheeres betwixt an Emperoure and  
the sonne of a bagpiper. *Malcontent* IV v, p 1(7. Tilley  
P36.
- Shoe. thy voice a squeakes like a dry cork shoe. *Antonio and*  
*Mellida* V, p. 55.
- Shop. keepe thy shopp, and thy shopp will keep thee. *Eastward*  
*Hoe* I p. 90. Tilley S392.
- Side. Call her, you rise on your right side marry, call her. *What*  
*You Will* V i, p. 287.
- Sixpence. fresh as a new-minted six-pence. *What You Will* II  
i, p. 245. Svartengren 223 farthings.
- Sky. When the skie falls we shall have Larkes. *Jacke Drum* V,  
p. 237. Tilley S517.
- Sleep. necessarie as sleepe to carefull man. *Fawne* III p. 190.
- Small. Oh sir, many a small make a great. *Jacke Drum* I, p.  
183. Tilley S554.
- Snail. snaile slow. *Fawne* III, p. 178. Carroll *Animal Con-*  
*ventions* p. 116; Taylor *Comparisons* 74; Tilley S579 as  
slow.

- Snow. untrodden snow is not so spotless (i.e., chaste). *Fawne* IV, p. 203. Svartengren 14 chaste.
- Soul. Secred, by gor as secred as your sowle. *Jacke Drum* I, p. 227.
- Sow. See Ear, 1.
- Sparrow. as peart as a sparrow. *Histrion-Mastix* II, p. 266. Svartengren 160.
- Square. Tut *Via* let all runne glib and square. *What You Will* II i, p. 249. Cf. Tilley S796.
- Steel. steele cuts steele alone. *Malcontent* IV iii, p. 193. Tilley S843.
- Stick. One sticke burns tother. *Malcontent* IV iii, p. 193.
- Stone, 1. thy stony heart. *Fawne* IV, p. 195. Cf. Taylor and Whiting 179 Heart 18; Tilley H311 A heart as hard as a stone.  
2. I, thy head is alwaies working, it roles, and it roles Dondolo, but it gathers no mosse Dondolo. *Fawne* I ii, p. 150. Tilley S885.
- Suds. why *Andrew, Andrew*, doest leave me in the Suddes? *Dutch Curtezan* II, p. 96; Alas my miserable master what suds art thou washt into? *Fawne* IV, p. 192. Tilley S953.
- Suit. honour and he agrees as well together, as a satten sute and wollen stockings. *Malcontent* V iii, p. 209.
- Sufferenace. I'll give you a proverb, Sufferance giveth ease. *What You Will*, Prologus, p. 235. Tilley S955.
- Sun. I would not the Sun should set upon your anger. *Antonio and Mellida* III, p. 42. Ephesians 4:26.
- Surgeon. Tut, a pittifull Surgeon makes a dangerous sore. *Malcontent* IV v, p. 195. *Oxford* 503; Tilley P270.
- Sweat. would you have them get their living by the curse of man. the sweat of their browes? *Dutch Curtezan* I i, p. 73. Tilley S1031.
- Talker. Ho but ther's an old fustie Proverbe, these great talkers are never great dooers. *What You Will* III i, p. 265. Tilley T64.

- Thing. A little thing pleaseth a young Ladie. *Antonio and Mellida* V, p. 58. Cf. Trick; Tilley T189.
- Thong. But cut your *Thongs* unto your *Lether*. *Eastward Hoe* V iv, p. 167. *Oxford* 126. Cf. Tilley C472 Cut your coat according to your cloth.
- Thought, 1. As deep as thought. *Sophonisba* III i, p. 37.  
 2. As large as spacious thought. *Antonios Revenge* IV i, p. 109.  
 3. quick as thought. *Sophonisba* II iii, p. 29. Apperson 518-519.  
 4. As swift as thought. *Countess* III, p. 43. Svartengren 374; Tilley T240.
- Thread. For my part tha'st (i.e., thou hast) spun a faire thread. *Fawne* III, p. 199; *ibid.*, p. 214. Tilley T252.
- Thunder. He lies as lowde as thunder. *Antonios Revenge* I iv, p. 80. Taylor *Comparisons* 54.
- Tiger. how cruell you were to her. As a Tiger, as a very Tiger. *Fawne* IV, p. 205. Svartengren 88.
- Time, 1. Would I were time then, I thought twas for same thing that the old fornicator was bald behinde. *What You Will* IV, p. 284. Tilley T311.  
 2. Time tryeth all things. *What You Will* IV, p. 284. Tilley T336. Tongue. Softer than a Courtyers tongue. *Dutch Curtezan* IV i, p. 116.
- Tradesmen. For Tradesmen (well tis knowne) Get with more ease, then Gentrie keeps his owne. *Eastward Hoe* II, p. 103.
- Traveler. Now solemn as a travailer. *Antonio and Mellida*, In-  
 Con su manto de hilo de oro que en su pecho relumbrada.<sup>2</sup>
- Tree. See Hedge.
- Trick. some far fet tricke, good for ladies. *Malcontent* V iii, pp. 207-208. Tilley D12 dainties.
- Trust. Tis good trust few; but O, tis best trust none. *Malcontent* IV iii, p. 193.

- Truth, 1. As bare as naked Truthe. *Jacke Drum* II, p. 198. Cf. Tilley T561 as naked as.
2. Shall I be plaine as Truth? *What You Will* I i, p. 241.
3. Truth is the touchstone of all things. *Antonios Revenge* I iii, p. 76.
4. and tis knowe *veritas nonquerit angulos*, truth seekes not to lurke under varthingalls. *What You Will* V, 293 and cf. p. 360. Tilley T587.
- T---. every mans t--- smels well in's owne nose. *Dutch Curtezan* III i, p. 108. Tilley F65.
- Two. when two know it how can it be a secret? *Fawne* III, p. 181. Tilley S193.
- Unicorn. sing like a Unicorne before thou dost dip thy horne in the water of death. *Antonios Revenge* V ii, p. 124 and cf. p. 322.
- Vengeance. For vengeance, tho't comes slow, yet it comes sure. *Malcontent* IV v, p. 197. Tilley V25.
- Verbum. See Word, 1.
- Virtue. We know not vertue till wee taste of vice. *Countess* III, p. 50.
- Voice, 1. Chast (i.e., chaste) as the first voice of a new borne infant. *Fawne* IV, p. 203.
2. his breath is more fearefull then a Sergeants voice, when he cries; I arrest. *Antonio and Mellida* III, p. 41.
- Wall. See Hedge.
- Ware. Your proffer ware stink. *Jacke Drum* I, p. 193. Tilley S252 service.
- Water. Foule water quencheth fire well inough. *Jacke Drum* I, p. 189; Till the foule water have quencht out the fire. *Countess* I, p. 12. Tilley W92.
- Weakest. Why the weakest go to the Pot still. *Jacke Drum* I, p. 187. Tilley W185.
- Welkin. ride at the Ring till the finne of his eyes looke as blew as the welkin. *Malcontent* I iii, p. 148. Svartengren 251 sky.



Welshman. As the Welchman stole rushes, when there was nothing else to filch; onely to keepe begging in fashion. *Malcontent* I vii, p. 161.

Westward. She feares hee (i.e., the sun) goes Westward to hange himselfe. *Eastward Hoe* II, p. 110; Mary hang you; Westward with a wantion te' ye. *ibid.*, p. 120. Cf. Notes and Queries 11th Series xii 6, 391; 12th Series iv 218, 280, 337, xi 168, 413.

Wheelbarrow. I will . . . rowle the wheele-barrow at Rotterdam. *Fawne* II i, p. 170. Perhaps signifying "turn a Jew," see p. 333.

Wildgoose chase. runne the wilde-goose chase even with *Pompey* the huge. *Malcontent* I iii, p. 148. Tilley W390. Here the reference appears to be to a game.

Wind, 1. that beauty more freshd (ed. A: fresh) then any coole and trembling wind. *Fawne* IV, p. 202.

2. I saile against the winde. *Countess* II i, p. 23.

3. Flye like the Northern winde Or swifter. *Countess* II, p. 26. Tilley W4111 as swift as the wind.

Wine. Good wines can vent (vend?) themselves, and not good wittes? *What You Will* II i, p. 251.

Wit, 1. The best best (*sic*) seele of wit is wits distrust. *What You Will*, Induction, p. 233.

2. Truely the best wittes have had the bad'st fortune at dice still. *What You Will* IV, p. 284.

Woe. Deare woes cannot speake. *Dutch Curtezan* IV i, p. 119. Cf. Tilley S664.

Woman, 1. Me thinks this lover has learn'd, of women, to deale by contraries. *Countess* II i, p. 21.

2. Women and Divels, will deceive the wise. *Countess* V, p. 79.

3. Women are flaxe, and will fire in a moment. *Malcontent* V ii, p. 204. Cf. Tilley F268; Whiting *Chaucer* p. 92.

4. Woman corrupted, is the worst of devils. *Dutch Curtezan* II i, p. 92.

5. A woman is never wonne till shee know not what to answere. *Countess* II, p. 27.

6. for know de deepest hell As a revenging Womans, naught  
so fell. *Dutch Curtezan* V, p. 125.
7. as I am an hones woman. *Eastward Hoe* I, p. 96.
8. let me not crie like a woman. *Dutch Curtezan* III, p.  
109.
- Word, 1. verbum sat sapienti. *Fawne* IV, p. 209. Tilley W781.  
2. Wordes fit acquaintance, but ful actions friends. *Fawne*  
I i, p. 157.  
3. Faire words never hurt the tongue. *Eastward Hoe* IV,  
p. 146. Tilley W793.
- Works, 1. good works get grace for sin. *Dutch Curtezan* V, p.  
125.  
2. Works of strong birth, end better than commence. *Fawne*  
IV, p. 210.
- World, 1. The world wants eyes, it cannot see behind. *What*  
*You Will* III i, p. 261.  
2. You must hast, For male-factors goes like the world upon  
wheeles. *Dutch Curtezan* V., p. 132. Tilley W893; *Whit-*  
*Drama* p. 369 no. 941.
- Worst. and if the worst come to the worst, I had rather prove a  
wagge than a foole. *Dutch Curtezan* III, p. 100. Tilley  
W911.
- Yellow. hee may in time growe great and wel grac't Courtier, for  
hee weares yellow (ed. A: greene) already. *Fawne* IV, p. 192.
- Youth. Youth thinks that age, Age knowes that youth is vaine.  
*Fawne* IV, p. 210. Cf. Tilley M610 he that is young think-  
eth the old men fond, and the olde knoweth the young men to be a  
foole.

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## THE RAG-BAG WORLD OF BALLADRY

by E. Joan Wilson Miller

IT IS GEROULD<sup>1</sup> who uses the expression "rag-bag" to describe the minds of the people who made ballads. It is most apt, since the genre may be likened to a quilt formed from individual pieces, often of no known origin, and yet forming, together, an expression of folk tradition. Whilst not wishing to enter into the controversy of the origins of ballads, I wish to try to explain how the various fragments moved, within oral tradition.

The origins of ballads would seem to be "plural and complex."<sup>2</sup> Scholars maintain that there is no great archetype, no common ancestry. For example, "Lady Isabel and the Elf Knight" is found from Scandinavia to East Europe. Geographical, linguistic and ethnic frontiers are splendidly ignored and only the varying musical forms and the language, reflect the changing social and geographical environments. It would seem then, that the ballad "stands at the end of a long tradition"<sup>3</sup> and oral tradition, moreover, so that any ballad as we know it is anonymous or its author unimportant and it has been caught at one moment in its development and at one time in its migration. "Judas" (C.23) is perhaps, the first to have been so "caught" in the thirteenth century; later, between 1557 and 1709, over 3000 ballads had been registered with the London Company of Stationers<sup>4</sup> and the "inspired invention"<sup>5</sup> of the variant reflected, first, the mirror of local ideas in a homogeneous stay-at-home group, and second, the dynamic elements of folk-criticism and transmission by word of mouth. It is Beckwith who explains that "the true folk group is one which has preserved a common culture in isolation long enough to allow emotion to color its forms of social expression. It has not, that is, lost its emotional reaction to its own particular set of ideas."<sup>6</sup> The narrative poem dramatically and impersonally presented, sung to its audience and sensitive to the mores of the group and its immediate envi-

<sup>1</sup>G. H. Gerould *The Ballad of Tradition*. p. 152.

<sup>2</sup>S. B. Hustvedt, *Ballad Books and Ballad Men*, Harvard University Press, 1930, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup>Gerould, p. 189.

<sup>4</sup>Gerould, p. 246.

<sup>5</sup>Gerould, p. 187, quoting Cecil Sharp.

<sup>6</sup>M. W. Beckwith, *Folklore in America*, Poughkeepsie, 1930, p. 1.

ronment, has a life of its own and is a great traveler by virtue of that very oral tradition.

If then, we can find evidence of the identity of this genre in widespread regions but with no common ancestral home of origin and appearing from Iceland to Central Europe, how then did these migrations take place? This is especially pertinent in the centuries of the greatest ballad making, the thirteenth to the eighteenth, that is, in times of great geographical hazards and lack of communications. The cultural cross-currents surmount these. It is Hustvedt who proposes that the ballad form derives from France "probably."<sup>7</sup> This would be a pleasingly simple hypothesis but he gives us no more information. Yet, in Britain alone, it is possible to trace a steady interest in and support of the French tongue, initiated by the Norman occupation of 1066, supported by the wine trade with France, especially in Tudor times and backed by the esteem placed on Huguenot refugees as teachers of the language. Here then might be one of the strands of ballad making. Yet how did oral transmission operate? The humble folk who stayed at home and listened to the narrative songs were part of a society in microcosm. They were the folk who rarely left home in a static society. Gerould makes this point (p. 232) and maintains that a break in that static quality would break oral tradition. It is a very interesting speculation to wonder just how much interruption, and for us, loss of ballads, there must have been between 1348 and 1349. The effects of the Black Death were severe enough in England; in Norway they were devastating. The very zest for singing must have left the entire populace when faced with such a virulent killer.

If then, the narrative folk songs were passed orally amongst isolated and homogeneous groups, translated and often changed in details, there must have been some dynamic element. If we look at the social life of the centuries which were forming and reshaping ballad material—the fourteenth to the eighteenth—it becomes clear that there was a vitality and movement of thought and people. Chaucer's England knew men who had seen military service in France, and the tribute and plunder of those wars meant increasing solid comfort at home. The end of hostilities opened up Flanders and France to the wool and cloth trade of England and the export of broadcloths increased ninefold in that century.<sup>8</sup> The merchant class knew prosperity, (in spite of the

<sup>7</sup>Hustvedt, p. 17.

<sup>8</sup>G. M. Trevelyan, *English Social History*, Longmans, Green, 1942 p. 36.

first taxes on wool in 1353) they used credit, and they had contacts with aliens who brought linens, velvets and silks overland to Flanders, then by sea to England. Florence, Parma and Milan supplied these luxuries, indeed Florence at that time was bigger than London's population of 30,000. But in the countryside where scarcely any area was completely isolated, excepting those counties on the Scots Border, the superbly oriented and surfaced Roman roads still dominated the land communications (see Gough's map<sup>9</sup>) though water transport was full, still, of natural hazards. The serfdom of the peasant was lessening as the manorial system broke up. Subsistence farming became farming for profit and the village became the market center. This kind of town began to dominate trade and the rural owner-occupier grew crops for a local market. The grain middle-man became vital in such an economy. Prosperity was evidenced in stone, as this was a time of great cathedral building, using the stone shipped from Caen in Normandy. Thus it would seem that there was movement and change within the countryside and at the ports on the east and south coasts. But there was also trade with Scandinavia, Norway being but three days' sail away. The great free cities of Bremen, Rostock, Hamburg, Lübeck, and Danzig, all within the Hanseatic League, were the entrepôts for Scandinavian fish (the herring was still king in the Baltic), for Sweden's steel, Norwegian fish, timber and fur, and Russian timber and grain. By the end of the century, the English settlement at Bergen had been destroyed and the Hansa ruled the Baltic. English merchants, then, took their pewter, cloth, tin, and coal to other areas, including Iceland. Thus Chaucer's England knew of North, West and Southern Europe. It would seem then, that these ethnic groups had contact with each other . . . "Mutual influence and borrowing as early as from the thirteenth century must, therefore, be taken into account, the extent of this mutual influence naturally depending to a certain degree upon the more or less prevailing cultural and mercantile intercourse between the countries concerned." (*Studia Norvegica*, vol. 1. p. 5.)

The fifteenth century felt the repercussions of the fourteenth. The Plague, veterans of French wars, escapees from the "skin eruption of the surface of English life,"<sup>10</sup>—the Wars of the Roses—were still the dangers which remained by day and night. For ballads, a beginning in their contamination had come when Caxton set up his printing press

<sup>9</sup>H. C. Darby, *Historical Geography of England before, 1800*, Cambridge University Press, p. 260.

<sup>10</sup>Trevelyan, p. 59.

in 1477 and translated works from the French. Playing cards found their way into the long winter evenings and miracle plays and carols completed with the ballads. But trade increased, there was a labor shortage on the land and the loathed tithing of a degenerate Papal miracle was to end. With its surcease, new lands added to the level of prosperity. With the decay of the abbeys went the decay of the town walls and the noblemens' castles. Leland was to find only the relics.<sup>11</sup> Instead there was an increase in gentlemens' seats and there was increase in leisure to listen to ballads. By the sixteenth century the squire had become all-important and his yeomen farmers knew no servitude. Packhorse travel was common, though not safe, and the picture of England by the seventeenth century is one being "comfortable, pleasant, rich."<sup>12</sup> 1685 was the year of the arrival of many Huguenot refugees bringing with them their weaving and spinning skills: prosperity ruled, it was a century in love with life. There was no machine-age, no Puritanism, no hold of an absentee decadent Papacy, and the land had been politically governed at the turn of the century by a woman with her eye on the ocean destiny of the island. If in this macrocosm our humble folk in their homogeneous microcosms were unaware of the steadily changing conditions, at least those same conditions gave the necessary stability for the continuance of an oral tradition. No wonder then, that although trade meant movement, and cultural exchange, the themes concerned the local event and the individual. We can see in our own century that the sensational local story may predominate over the ways of a shrunken world.

By the eighteenth century the great era of the roadmakers had come. All roads led to London and rivers were important arteries of trade. Turnpikes had been built and maintained outside the local parish; London was linked to Edinburgh by a coach once every two weeks, and to York, the second greatest town, by a coach taking four days. Opportunities for people to meet and talk and to hear, for example, new ballads, were greatly increased. But the village was still the unit, looking towards the market town for its greater needs. It is very interesting that the places in the Child collection, which refer to towns in England or Scotland, are cities of considerable size, e.g. Edinburgh, Dunferline, Stirling, Carlisle, Winchester, London. Even if one allows for the contamination by the printed ballad it would seem that

<sup>11</sup>Darby, p. 342.

<sup>12</sup>Darby, p. 396.



the big city has the same glamour whatever the century. But the cottage fire was still very important in a world where the peasantry had few books, perhaps the Bible, the Prayer Book, and, ominously, "the ballads pasted on the wall."<sup>13</sup> The latter no doubt were in the local inn, that fulcrum still of local life whether rural or urban. There were no city-made newspapers or weeklies. It must have been the heyday of oral tradition in tale and song, as merchants and their representatives, peddlars, beggars, the journeymen who came to the homes to weave the year's supply of cloth, or the farmers and their wives who brought produce to the weekly fairs or hired new hands at the annual ones. All these must have had contact with materials in oral tradition, especially in both rural and urban societies with prosperity and personal freedom. By 1800 two million acres of land had been reclaimed, animal husbandry was improved by such men as "Turnip" Townsend and the winter flocks and herds were assured of their fodder. In 1801 Darby estimates that 78 percent of the total population of seven million was still rural.

In this rag-bag of origins and movements of the narrative folk song there are two enormous pieces in our quilt of ballad-making; the bright and many pieces of the Scots Border and the fewer fragments from south of the Border. Wales, still today in this century a land apart, stands separated by her own language and poetry making. It is the decay of ballad-making south of the Border and the preservation to the north, that adds one more change of pattern. South of the Scots Border it was the growth of the metropolis and its ever-demanding population that caused the "Great Wen" of London to sprawl over the rural districts and draw upon an ever-widening area for its food. By the seventeenth century there was a total of half a million people in London out of a total for the country of seven million. The merchants already had their country houses in what are today's suburbs. It might be argued that with such ease of movement there should have been an exhilaration of oral transmission. But London in 1696 dominated the printed word. There were but three centers of printing, Oxford, Cambridge and London. Few books were published and news came out from London as newsletters. Trevelyan says that "a fair proportion of people . . . . . could read and write."<sup>14</sup> If then the ballad in oral tradition became transfixed in type, as Professor W.

<sup>13</sup>Trevelyan, p. 318.

<sup>14</sup>Darby, p. 527.

<sup>15</sup>Trevelyan, p. 263.

<sup>16</sup>Trevelyan, p. 264.



Edson Richmond of Indiana University has pointed out, then the increase in learning brought respect for learning and the printed word.

It is often assumed that the humble folk of England could not read or write. An examination of the situation would not support this. (See note 16) The Charity Schools of the eighteenth century and especially the Forster Act of 1872 were to provide elementary education for all, but there was already a strong tradition for learning. Oxford in the fourteenth and Cambridge by the sixteenth were making clerics of the not-so-keen adolescents and these two universities were supplied with candidates by the three to four hundred Grammar Schools, established by merchants for boys and, be it added to their credit, girls, of humble origin. These were urban schools based on urban prosperity; such a school Will Shakespeare attended. Since 1440, when Eton College was founded, the education of the wealthy boy had gone on either in such institutions (Eton being only the first of a group of influential schools) or in the care of the private tutor. Private and public libraries were collected and in 1740 circulating libraries were begun. It would seem that like the peopling of the British Isles, the impetus to learning came from the Southeast and the wilder, less settled areas continued in the older ways, and oral tradition remained longest there.

North of the river Trent the great exception was the city of Edinburgh, and the power of learning was mighty in Scotland, but the rough terrain of peat bogs, the great rainfall especially in the west, the thin soils remaining after severe glaciation and the lack of communications resulting from these very conditions and aggravated by the fiord coastline again on the West, provided for the vigorous continuation of the oral tradition, especially of the ballad. The very organization of life, the clan, which was feudal in its loyalties and sense of ownership, inhibited change. Not until 1603 in the reign of James VI of Scotland and I of England, were manor houses built to replace the fortified castles and peel towers. After the Act of Union of 1707 there began a slow percolation into the literate society of the Lowlands, of the printed word from London, for example "The Spectator" was read and circulated. Yet even in 1763 the act punishing witches was still on the statute books, it was repealed that year and then from London; the County Keeper in Northumberland was still paid £500 per annum to replace cattle stolen by the thieving Scots. Behind this century lay four centuries of intermittent hostility with England. Out of this, the clan system and the isolation imposed by geography came the magnificent

opportunities for themes, passed in oral tradition. Culturally, Scotland has had a greater affinity with Europe and especially France. By embracing Papacy, and later Calvinism, she lost four-fifths of England's sympathy and Scots exiles lived in Europe whenever necessary. The trade in French wine was always great and indeed, it was with acumen, that four years before the union with England, this trade was legalized. There are records too, of Scotsmen being active in Norway, a land where commerce was held in high esteem. In 1610, of the 112 ships built near Bergen, 73 were made by Scotsmen. Already in the fifteenth century, many Scottish names had appeared in rent-rolls and tax census records. (*Studia Norvegica*, vol. 1., p. 7) The Scots peasant still lived in a feudal society and rallied round the Noble or the laird (the gentlemen-farmer of the Lowlands). Lands were leased annually, thus economic subservience reigned, and thrift, a result of lack of resources, provided an egalitarian education for all, of whatever rank, at the local school. The lack of Poor Laws made for many vagrants, indeed they were licensed, in their wanderings. Fanaticism, witch-craft, belief in the supernatural, the power of life or death invested in the chief of the clan, and the complete isolation of the Highlands until 1745, all provided the backcloth to the ballad.

Such then are the social conditions in which the ballad in English, often with a Scots accent, flourished in oral tradition, contaminated by the printed word and then passing into oral tradition again. The genre was specific and by cursory reference to the social milieu, gives us the folk approval of the world as they knew it, outside the bounds of time. That the Church figures little is understandable when we see how the Papacy came to stink in the nostrils of the English, though lingering longer in Scotland. In the ballads mentioning the Church, the mass, the Prayer Book, the rosary, Our Lady, do occur but superstition, animism, and totemism, are far more common indications of folk belief. Miss Broadwood<sup>17</sup> has pointed out that the plant-burden was used as a refrain, functioning as an incantation, and so many of the plants mentioned were magical, especially the broom and the bent or rush. It must be remembered too, that in many communities and away from city life, doctoring was by necessity with herbs, so that like the domestic animal the plants were part of the environment. Numbers too were significant, 3, 5, 9, 33 and especially 7. Talking birds, often the soul returned, helpful hounds, fairies of human size, the sinister cock-

<sup>17</sup>L. C. Wimberly, *Folklore in the English and Scottish Ballads*, p. 350.



tion shine out in these ballads. It is Trevelyan, quoting C. S. Lewis who writes "any idealism of sexual love in a society where marriage is purely utilitarian, must begin by being an idealisation of adultery."<sup>18</sup> In the fifteenth century the idea of a love-marriage was rare, hence perhaps the ballad singer's sympathy for success in this most human field. Also, if the child-bride meant cash or land then she went protected. Adultery then was with the peasant wife or the noble matron. Hence, perhaps the theme of what to do with the issue of such a union. Even in eighteenth century London, travellers passed by the unwanted child, laid by the roadside to die. Though shutting their eyes to this, society would punish the individual, and the ballad evoked a reaction to an individual's plight. Yet the impersonality of the telling and the teller underline the starkness of the situations. As with all tragedy, we feel sympathy with the individual, yet terror with the cause. Such is the catharsis of emotions. Set to a tune, the release can be great. In the rag-bag of their world, these themes stand endless at the base of all human interrelatedness. It is indeed a "philosophy of life,"<sup>19</sup> a rag-bag of cultural scraps, joined together by the fundamentals of man's response to his elemental urgings and those of his neighbor. The unity, formed from these fragments then stands clear whatever their origins and however they were transmitted. . . . "It is as if the historical and geographical conditions of medieval times are reflected in the ballads, although most of the latter were recorded in far later days. These unwritten popular folk-poems point to a cultural intercourse resting upon a broad foundation and to an exchange of cultural values which has been a gain to both parties." (*Studia Norvegica*. Vol. 1. p. 16.)

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<sup>18</sup>Trevelyan, p. 66.

<sup>19</sup>Wimberly, p. 2.

## THE JUGOSLAV CHILDREN'S GAME *MOST* AND SOME SCANDINAVIAN PARALLELS

by Jelena Milojković-Djurić

MANY GERMAN VARIANTS of the widely known arch game under discussion have been described by Mannhardt.<sup>1</sup> In these the children pass under a "bridge" formed by the upraised arms of two of the players. One after another the captured players have to choose between "Sonne und Mond" (variant from Westphalia), "Himmel und Hölle" (variant from Bremen), and "Teufel und Engel" (variant from Tübingen). Sometimes the arch game ends here. More often a tug of war takes place between the two groups of children lined up behind their respective leaders. These two groups represent opposing forces struggling against each other. The tug of war is not present in the German variants quoted but frequently appears in Yugoslav analogues. It occurs also in certain Swedish variants (*Dragkamp* and *Bro, bro, breda*)<sup>2</sup> and in some Czechoslovakian forms of the arch game such as *Zlatna brana*.<sup>3</sup>

Let us examine the Yugoslav variant of the arch game called *Most* (Bridge). This particular variant is played by the children of Soko Banja, Serbia, and is unaccompanied by singing.<sup>4</sup> Two players stand facing each other, their hands clasped and raised above their heads to form an arch. The others form a long line, each holding around the waist the player in front, and begin passing under the arch, which is referred to as the "bridge." The two forming the arch have previously decided between themselves which is to be "Heaven" and which is to be "Hell." To the other players, however, they are, e.g., "apple" and "pear" (cf. the English "Oranges and Lemons"). The first player in the line calls out, "Is the bridge firm?" The two players clasping hands reply, "As firm as a rock." The first then asks permission to pass over. This is granted, but he is warned that the last in line will be captured. The captured player is asked whether he prefers "apple" or "pear." When he has made his choice, he takes his position behind the one he

<sup>1</sup>Wilhelm Mannhardt, "Das Brückenspiel," *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde*, IV (1859).

<sup>2</sup>Carl-Herman Tillhagen, *Svenska folklekar och danser*. 2 v. Stockholm, 1950.

<sup>3</sup>J. Feifalik, "Nachtrage zum Brückenspiel," *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde*, IV (1859).

<sup>4</sup>See Paul G. Brewster and Jelena Milojković-Djurić, "A Group of Yugoslav Games," *Southern Folklore Quarterly*, XX (1956).

has chosen and puts his arms around the other's waist. This continues until all have been captured. When they form two lines, one headed by the "apple" and the other by the "pear," the two players who composed the bridge inform the rest whether they are in "Heaven" or in "Hell." Sometimes the game ends here. More often, however, the leaders of the two lines grasp hands firmly and the game ends with a tug-of-war.

Another variant of this game is the singing game "Prolazite, prolazite, poslednja je naša"—"Pass, pass, the last is ours." This game is well known among the children of Belgrade, where this variant was recorded. Here also two players form an arch, but they sing while the others are passing under their arms, holding one another around the waist. As the last girl is passing, the players forming the bridge let down their arms and imprison her. She must then bend backward over their clasped hands, when she is asked in a very low voice whom she chooses. The choice is usually between "devil" and "angel" or "Heaven" and "Hell." The lining up of the players behind their respective leaders and the tug-of-war are present in both variants of this game. The song which accompanies it runs:

In the following variants of the game "Most"—"Bridge" from Danilovgrad (Montenegro), "Prolazite, prolazite, no Moravu dolazite"—"Pass, pass, come to Morava" from Belgrade, and "Elem, belem, cedilo" (meaningless) from Soko Banja (East Serbia), the names of the two leaders have changed in the course of time to more common ones belonging to the child's own world, e.g. a doll and a plane. Sometimes the choice is between two kinds of fruit.

The variant from Danilovgrad runs as follows: Two players facing each other as previously described form an arch. They start to sing, while the other players one after another pass under their unpraised

arms. Prolazite, prolazite  
Najzadnjega ostajiste.

Pass, pass,  
Leave the last.

Pro la-zi-te, pro la-zi-te po slednja je na ša

As pointed out in the song, the last player in the row has to stay. Then he is asked, "What do you wish, a plane or a doll?" When he has made his choice, he takes his position behind the leader who represents the one he has chosen and puts his arms around the waist of the player in front of him. When all the players are divided into two groups, a tug-of-war follows. The group whose members succeed in pulling the others across a line between the two parties is the winner.



In the Soko Banja variant, players hold hands, forming a chain (*lanac*), as they pass under the upraised arms of the two forming the arch. At the last syllable of the song which the latter sing, they suddenly squat and encircle the player's waist with their arms. He must then choose either "the golden queen" or "the golden princess." After all are lined up behind the leaders, a tug-of-war takes place.

Elem, belem, cedilo,

Mama mesi ledilo,  
Čuj Kato, Katice.  
Orom, šorom šorice,  
Cica maca zazubac.<sup>5</sup>

Elem, belem, bag,  
Mummy bakes ledilo,  
Listen, Kato, Katice.  
(These last two lines  
are meaningless)

El-em, bel-em ce-di-lo

ci-ca ma-ca za zu-ba-ca

The same game was observed in the vicinity of Soko Banja in the village of Jošanica. The children in that village use the word "gate" to denote the arch formed by the upraised arms of the two leaders. Otherwise there is no difference either in the method of play or in the words of the song. Only the final tug-of-war is missing.

There is also an interesting variant of the arch game known under the name "Laste, prolaste" or "Prolazite, prolazite," familiar to many children. As in the variants previously described, here again two players form an arch. The other participants one after another pass under holding one another round the waist. All the players sing as the line passes under. The choice is usually between two fruits or two toys, and a tug-of-war ends the game.

Observing children and their games during the summer and fall of 1959, I noticed the following variants of the song accompanying the game. The game itself was always played unchanged.

La-ste pro-la-ste na Mo-ra-vu do-la - ste

A group of girls and boys aged 12-14 from Belgrade accompanied their game with the following verses:

Laste, prolaste,  
Na Moravu dolaste.

Pass, pass,  
Arrive at Morava.

<sup>5</sup>Some of the words in this song are used solely because of their rhythmical value, the number of syllables, and their agreement in the terminal sounds of their rhymes. Others, however, have some meaning. *Cedilo* is a word used in East Serbia to denote a bag made of hand-woven woolen cloth; *cica maca* is a pet term applied to a cat. The use of nonsense words is much more common in counting-out rhymes, where it often forms the essential part of a verse.



Moja gora uvela	My wood is Welken (?)
a vaša je zelena.	But yours is green.
Kalopero, Vero, Vero,	Kalopero, Vero, Vero,
Otvori mi vrata Jelo,	Open the door to me, Jelo,
Da prodje vojska Vero, haj!	That the army may pass, haj!

Another group ranging in age from 7 to 9 and also from Belgrade sang:

Prolazite, prolazite,  
 Na Moravu dolazite.  
 Vaša gora zelena  
 a naša je uvela.  
 Halo Pero, Vero, Jelo,  
 Otvori mi vrata Jelo,  
 Da prodje vojska mlada, haj!

The only remarkable difference between these last two songs is in the fifth line. The word "kalopero" is in the second version replaced by "halo Pero." *Kaloper* is a kind of grass (*Balsamita maior*). This plant is not often seen in gardens nowadays, and the children do not know what the word means. Accordingly, they have replaced it with a phrase having the same number of syllables and somewhat the same sound. More important, it has a meaning for them, being actually a call to a comrade. According to some of the players of the second group, the game sometimes includes a little *postludium*. At the moment when the stronger players have pulled the weaker group across the line, all participants must squat as quickly as they can. The one who is last is called "the devil," and the others mock him:

U djavola crne noge a u mene bele!  
 Devil has black feet, but I have white ones!

As they sing this, they alternately rise partway and then squat again. The "devil" tries to touch one of them while he is still partly upright. If he succeeds, the other must then take his place.

This game was noted also in Soko Banja, where the players, a group of children 3-6 years of age, sang these verses:

Laste, prolaste,	Pass, pass,
Iz dolinu dolaste.	Come from the valley.
Alo Pero, alo,	Hallo, Pero, hallo,
Donesi mi plavo.	Bring me the blue.

The children could not explain what is meant by the last line. They answered simply, "Just what we sing: pass, pass, bring me something blue." The explanation of these shortened verses may lie in the assumption that the rhymed poetry from the towns has exerted an influence upon them. Even the contemporary Serbian folk lyrics sometimes contain very rough verses of the same kind. The melody of the song accompanying the just-mentioned variant belongs to the widespread recitative type; it is almost a declamation formed of four bars. The whole range of the melody is within a fifth, with a medial cadence and a final one on the tonic.

All the textual variants of the song "Laste, prolaste" include in their second part verses beginning with "Kalopero . . .," which formerly belonged to another folksong. In 1862 the Serbian composer Kornelije Stanković published an album of folksongs among which the following lines can be found:

Kalopero, Pero  
Što me zoveš Jelo?  
Otvor' gradu vrata  
Da provedem vojsku, &c.

Kalopero, Pero,  
Why do you call me Jelo?  
Open the door of the town  
That I may lead the army  
through, &c.

In the preface to that album the composer wrote that he had collected these songs while traveling among the Serbian folk. There is no comment as to the occasions on which they were sung or whether the singers were playing during the singing.<sup>5a</sup>

Ka - lo pe - ro, pe - ro ka lo pe ro-pe - ro, ka - lo pe - ro, pe - ro

In 1907 the well known ethnologist Tihomir Djordjević noted in his book *Srpske narodne igre* a game with the title "Kalopere, Rajo." According to him, the game was played chiefly by girls and young married women. Two groups are formed, one representing an emperor with his army, the other a host and his home or a knight and young girls. The whole game bears a strong resemblance to wedding ceremonies. The song which accompanies the song is in dialogue between the two groups, explaining the successive actions of the game, e.g., the wooing of a girl and the describing of her qualities, which are humorously denied by the others:

Kalopero, Rajo,  
Što me zoveš, Jelo?  
Otvor' gradu vrata.

Kalopero, Rajo,  
Why do you call me, Jelo?  
Open the door of the town.

A sto ce ti vrata?  
Da provedem vojsku, &c.

Why do you need the door?  
That I may lead the army,  
&c.

The group which follows the emperor sings and passes between the (double?) row of other girls lined up in front of them. As they pass, the latter take one of them.<sup>6</sup>

In 1931 Vladimir R. Djordjević noted a similiar variant and stated that the song was sung during the carnival season.<sup>7</sup>

Kaloper, Pero, Rajo,  
Što zoveš lepu Maru?

D' otvori gradu vrata

Da provedem vojsku.

Kaloper, Pero, Rajo,  
Why do you call the  
pretty Mara?

To open the door of the  
town

That I may lead the  
army through.

Ka - lo - per - o Pe - ro, ra - jo, Pe — ro

After having noted all these examples, we may conclude that the children's song "Laste, prolaste" consists of two different parts which form a whole. The first part is the children's song "Laste, prolaste." The second is a variant of the first four verses of the quoted song "Kalopero, pero."

One of the corresponding Swedish variants is the singing game "Bro, bro, breda."<sup>8</sup> This variant has been strongly influenced by the game "Syster, syster, ädla min." The romantic little drama of the latter has passed over to the game "Bro, bro, breda," and both are played like a circle dance (*ringdans*). In this variant the "bridge" is not formed by the upraised hands of two players as in the quoted Yugoslav form, nor are the imprisoning, the choice, or the tug-of-war present.

Another variant, from Östergothland, is played like an arch game.<sup>9</sup> The children pass singing under the arch until the last verse, when the two leaders try to capture the last player. The one caught must leave the game. There is no choice between two sides and no tug-of-war. The last verse of the song

<sup>6</sup>*Srpske narodne pesme*. Bec. 1862.

<sup>7</sup>However, the one taken is not necessarily the last in line.

<sup>8</sup>*Srpske narodne melodije (predratna Srbija)*. Beograd, 1931.

<sup>9</sup>A. I. Arwidsson, *Svenska fornsånger*, I-III. Stockholm, 1842.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 253-254.

Sa när som den, som efter är,  
Han skall i brona ligga.

The one coming after  
Shall lie in the bridge.

supports the opinion of Gomme<sup>10</sup> and Newell<sup>11</sup> that this game is connected with the widespread superstition that a bridge or other building will not be firm unless a human being or an animal is built into it. The same motif is present in the old Serbian epic "The Building of Skadar on Bojana." Haddon has cited some Greek folksongs with the analogous motif of building a human being into a bridge.<sup>12</sup>

The "Bro, bro, breda" of Tillhagen<sup>13</sup> is very similar to the first variant of this game described by Arwidsson, each having a lyric *post-ludium*. It resembles the arch game in that the captured player must utter "the dearest name" in order to win his freedom. Sometimes, too, this game ends with a tug-of-war (*dragkamp*). The choosing between the players forming the arch (Sun and Moon) and the lining up are the same as in the nonsinging game *Dragkamp*.<sup>14</sup>

The non-singing game *Dragkamp* has more similarities with the Yugoslav variant "Most." There is a choice between the two leaders (Sun and Moon), which form an arch with their upraised arms. There is also the lining up behind them. Only the players are captured one after the other, not always the last one. In this Swedish game the tug-of-war is not a collective action, but the leaders try to pull each other over a line.

It may be of interest to compare the two Serbian games given by the Danish ethnologist Feilberg<sup>15</sup> as analogues of the variants described above. The first Serbian variant, quoted under the name "Erberečke," is a well known and still-played game, known also as "Jelečkinje, Barjačkinje."<sup>16</sup> It is played by boys and girls. They divide into two groups of equal size and arrange themselves in parallel lines facing each other. The distance between the lines depends upon the size of the playground, but is ordinarily about 10 meters. All the children in one of the two rows call out to those of the other, "Erbetutor" or "Jelečkinje." The other group answers, "Erberečke" or "Barjačkinje." The first then calls, "Whom do you wish?" Those in the other row give the name of a player of the first group. This player then runs as fast as he can toward the other line and tries to break through at what he thinks

<sup>10</sup>A. B. Gomme, *The Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland*. 2 v. London, 1898.

<sup>11</sup>W. W. Newell, *Games and Songs of American Children*. New York, 1911.

<sup>12</sup>A. C. Haddon, *The Study of Man*. London, 1898.

<sup>13</sup>*Op. cit.*, II, 320.

is a weak point in it. If he succeeds, he is allowed to return to his own group taking with him one of the two players between whom he broke the line. If he fails, he must remain on the side of the opposing group. The two sides alternate in challenging each other, and the game goes on until one of the groups has practically all the players and the other can no longer continue playing.

This game bears no similarity to the different variants of the arch game either in dialogue or in action. Maybe it was used as the closest parallel available at the moment.

The second game in Feilberg, quoted as corresponding to the arch game, is "Lese." As it is described in the text of the song, all the players, holding one another by the hand, sings:

Twist, twist,  
We are twisting ourselves to a network  
And we untwist us again,  
Like the chains  
We are twisting, us bachelors.

While singing the first three lines of the song, the whole row passes under the upraised arms of the last two players.

There is an analogous Yugoslav singing game "Kolariću, Paniću, we are twisting ourselves," in which the players pass under the upraised arms, twisting themselves as in the former game. The way of performance is quite different from that in the aforementioned "Bro, bro, brille." The players do not pass over a "bridge"; the upraised arms do not represent symbolically the bridge. They are passing under the upraised arms, holding one another by the hand and making a complicated figure, the "knot." Here is the song:

Kolariću, Paniću,	Kolaricu, Panicu,
Pletemo se samiću,	We are knitting ourselves.
Sami sebe zaplićemo,	Ourselves we are twisting.
Sami sebe otplicemo.	Ourselves we are untwisting.

The game "Lese" described by Feilberg, together with "Kolariću, Paniću," belongs to another type altogether. As a further analogue to

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 123ff.

<sup>15</sup>H. F. Feilberg, "Bro brille legen," *Svenska landsmålen och Svenska folkliv*, XII, 4 (1905).

<sup>16</sup>See Brewster and Milojković-Djurić, *loc. cit.*

<sup>17</sup>Paul G. Brewster, "Notes on Some Games Mentioned in Basile's *Il Pentameron*," *Folklore*, V (1950).

<sup>18</sup>Ljubica and Danica Janković, *Narodne igre*, I. Beograd, 1934.

these "twisting" games may be mentioned the American "Twist Tobacco."<sup>17</sup> The Serbian "Oj, Jovo, Jovo" from Montenegro<sup>18</sup> belongs to the same group. There exist a number of similar variants in the whole territory of Bosnia and Hercegovina.<sup>19</sup>

Trying to explain the origin of the arch game, Mannhardt has pointed out that the motif of crossing a bridge is present in the epic *Edda*, in which the dead man rises to Hel over a bridge called Gjallarbru. Feilberg mentions the same motif, with an additional reference to an inscription on a gravestone at Winnipeg (England).

Another important motif is very often present in these games: the struggle between two groups under the leadership of two opposing forces. In the Middle Ages the motif of an allegorical fight for a human soul is very often present in folk tradition and in tales. Even some other games of children include such a conflict. Such, for example, are the Serbian children's game "Cincili, bomboli"<sup>20</sup> and the Czechoslovak "Angel and Devil."<sup>21</sup> Among English-speaking children the latter is usually known as "Colors."

However, some variants of the children's arch game known nowadays under different names have lost from their verses any connection which permits an explanation of their origin as due to some mystical heritage. There is seldom a choice between "Himmel und Hölle," "Teufel und Engel," as quoted by Mannhardt, but between a doll and a plane, two kinds of fruit, or a princess and a queen. The conclusion may be that the arch game influenced other children's songs (cf. the verses which accompany the game from Soko Banja, "Elem, belem, cedilo," or "Laste, prolaste" in all mentioned variants), which assimilated the way of performance unchanged, but in turn the arch game accepted some elements from other children's games.

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<sup>17</sup>J. Dopudja, "Narodne igre Kupreskog polja," *Bilten Instituta za proučavanje folklora* (Sarajevo, 1953).

<sup>18</sup>See Brewster and Milojković-Djurić, *loc. cit.*

<sup>21</sup>Feilalik, *loc. cit.*



## THOR, THE CHEECHAKO AND THE INITIATES' TASKS: A MODERN PARALLEL FOR AN OLD JEST

by Jan Brunvand

IN THE *Edda* of Snorri Sturluson the humorous story is related about the time when the god Thor visited Útgarda-Loki and had his party put to various tests by the giants.<sup>1</sup> The inhabitants of Útgardr towered over the visitors, made slighting remarks about them, and challenged them to prove themselves in competitions. The gods lost every contest, but later they found out that nothing in Útgardr was really what it had appeared to be. Thor's companion, Loki, lost an eating match with the giant Logi, who ate the wooden trough and all, for he was really fire personified. The swift-running Thjalfi was beaten in a race by the disguised personification of thought. Then Thor himself was tried in three contests. He could not drain a drinking horn in the required three draughts, but he did not know that the other end of it lay in the sea. He failed to lift a huge cat completely off the ground, but this cat was really the serpent which encircled the earth. Finally he was set to wrestling an old woman of the court and he was thrown by her to one knee, for she was really a personification of old age.

MacCulloch commented on this episode that "it rather suggests the inventive imagination of one well-versed in folktale formulae than a myth proper."<sup>2</sup> He concluded, "on the whole, the story—the longest in Snorri—is perhaps no more than a skillful weaving of episodes and ideas into a tale, utilizing *Märchen* formulae."<sup>3</sup> The story is somewhat reminiscent of AT 513 *The Helpers*, in which the hero travels with extraordinary companions who perform various deeds for him; among these deeds are foot racing, eating and drinking.<sup>4</sup> The basic idea of the tale is also contained in the *Motif-Index* under H900. *Tasks imposed*. "A person's prowess is tested by assigning him certain tasks (usually impossible or extremely difficult.)" There are motif numbers

<sup>1</sup>Snorri Sturluson, "The Prose Edda," tr. Arthur Gilchrist Brodeur, *Scandinavian Classics*, Vol. V (New York, 1916), pp. 56-68.

<sup>2</sup>J. A. MacCulloch, "Eddic Mythology," *The Mythology of All Races*, Vol. II (Boston, 1930), p. 91.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 94.

<sup>4</sup>See the analysis of the Type in the Aarne-Thompson *Types of the Folk-Tale*, FFC 74, p. 83.



which fit each of the specific tasks: H1141. *Task: eating enormous amount*; H1594. *Foot racing contest*; H1142. *Task: Drinking the sea dry*; H1149.2. *Task: lifting a certain cat*; and H1562.9. *Test of strength: wrestling*. (The deceptions practiced on the gods by the giants are covered under motifs K81, K11, K82, and K12.) Thus the standard folklore indexes, with the parallels cited therein, corroborate the opinion that Snorri's account of Thor's visit to Útgarda-Loki was largely made up of folklore commonplaces.

Recently I came across a somewhat similar humorous tale in oral tradition which is also based on the entrance of outsiders into a society of strong men who put them to tests. Although there is no possibility that these narratives are connected historically, the modern story does illustrate how the ancient one could have generated under similar conditions. Curiously, some details of the two widely-separated tales are almost identical.

The modern jest might be titled, "How to Become a Sourdough"; according to six reports in the Indiana University Folklore Archives, a newcomer to the state of Alaska (a "cheechako") is told that he must prove himself to the old-timers (the "sourdoughs") by performing a series of tasks before he is accepted as a "sourdough" himself. Usually three tasks are mentioned for the initiation. The first four reports (A, B, C, and D) of the tradition contain no real narrative, but simply state the required tasks. These reports date from 1947 to 1959 and were deposited in the archives by three students who had visited Alaska and one student who interviewed an Alaskan on campus. According to A (1947), the cheechako must outrun an Alaskan rabbit, shoot a Kodiak bear and urinate in the Yukon river. Informant B (1952) lists killing a bear, urinating in the Yukon and sleeping with an Eskimo woman. In C's version (1953) there are four requirements: panning gold in a wash pan, baking sourdough bread, urinating in the Yukon and "going into the bushes with an Eskimo woman." D (1959) lists the same three tasks as B.<sup>5</sup> The humor of these lists of tasks required for acceptance consists of a juxtaposition of fairly believable tests of prowess—killing a bear, outrunning a rabbit, panning gold and baking sourdough—with mock-serious acts of defiance or bravery—urinating in the Yukon river or sleeping with an Eskimo woman. (The informants pointed out that all Eskimo women are supposedly

<sup>5</sup>The collectors were, Ray Must (A) of Detroit, Michigan; LaMott Bates (B) of East Lansing, Michigan; and Jim Avant (D) of Bloomington, Indiana all of whom had been in Alaska. David M. Graham (C) of Lansing, Michigan, heard the jest from Mortimer M. Moore of Anchorage, Alaska.

old, ugly and very repulsive.) Recently the jest has developed into a narrative and has become more stylized, more sexy, more topical and even funnier. At the same time, it has become more like the funny story about Thor.

Frank A. Hoffmann, Audio-Visual Instructor and graduate folklore student at Indiana University, first told me in June, 1959, about the latest development of the story. It seems that a Texan is rejected in the new state of Alaska until he proves himself by three tasks: drinking a fifth of whiskey at one draught, wrestling a grizzly bear and sleeping with an Eskimo woman. A visiting Texan resolved to make the grade. He downed the whiskey and staggered off to the woods. After much roaring and screaming was heard, the man staggered back, covered with blood, and demanded, "Now where's this Eskimo woman I'm supposed to wrestle?" a version of the same story was received in the archives in January, 1960, from a student who heard it at a party just before Christmas.<sup>6</sup> In this text the outsider was ignored in an Alaskan bar, even when he ordered drinks for the house. He was told that before complete acceptance up here he must drain an "Alaskan shot" (a keg of whiskey), sleep with an Eskimo woman and wrestle a bear. After polishing off the whiskey, he searched out a bear; but as in Hoffmann's version, he got his requirements confused and staggered back looking for "that Eskimo woman I'm supposed to wrestle."

It can hardly be more than chance that the tasks which this mythical Texan attempted and which Thor had to perform in the land of the giants are so close—the great drink, the strength contest with a huge beast and a wrestling match with an old woman. Only the appropriate details of the locale, the supernatural elements in the Norse version and the sexual theme in the modern story distinguish the two yarns. As a consequence of these differences, however, the basis of the humor is also changed, yet still analogous. Thor is laughable in his striving to succeed against supernatural odds which he faces all unawares. The cheechako, on the other hand, makes us laugh when he tries to perform, in all seriousness, tasks which are only stated as a joke; then too, he confuses the job and bungles the whole thing, with even more humorous results. We can see from these reports how the Alaskan joke must have developed from a string of jesting "requirements for acceptance," some of them fairly logical attributes for a good sourdough. The later narrative form of the jest employs a standardized

<sup>6</sup>Collected by Jerry Kline of South Bend, Indiana.

set of three tasks which are attempted by one swell-headed individual who then confuses them. Alaska's attainment of statehood displaced the Texan as the inhabitant of our largest state and made him the suitable butt of the joke. It is not difficult to imagine a similar chain of development for the Old-Norse story. There might have been a series of traditional tasks supposed to be set by the giants for their visitors. Then Snorri, or someone else, borrowed the tasks for a humorous account of how the strong god met his match. (Other stories of Thor's comical set-backs are recorded, just as a cycle of hapless-Texan tales is going the rounds today.) The background situation in both stories leads up to the same sort of joke: a figure famed for his big deeds enters the tough world of bigger men than himself and he is put to tests by them. Then, according to folklore, the greenhorn was gulled in much the same way in Jotunheimen and on the Yukon.

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## SOME ASPECTS OF MALTESE FOLKLORE

by Bernerd C. Weber

THE MALTESE ARCHIPELAGO OFFERS a particularly appropriate field for the study of European folklore. Geographically located midway between the Western and Eastern sections of the Mediterranean Sea and half-way on the land ridge which once joined Sicily to Africa, the Maltese archipelago in the course of its long history has been successively ruled by a number of peoples. In ancient times the Phoenicians and Carthaginians held sway. They were displaced in turn by the Romans, whose extended rule was followed by the Arabs and still later by the Normans. The islands then passed by inheritance or war successively to the dynasties of Anjou and Aragon. In 1530 Ferdinand of Aragon's grandson, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, granted the islands to the militant monastic order of St. John of Jerusalem, better known as the Knights Hospitallers. From 1530 to 1798 the Knights of St. John ruled the archipelago. Then General Napoleon Bonaparte on his way to Egypt seized the islands for the first French Republic and expelled the Knights. France's domination was short in duration. Maltese insurgents supported by English forces finally brought about the evacuation of the French in 1800, and the Treaty of Paris in 1814 politically confirmed the fact that the island of Malta and its dependencies belonged in full sovereignty to His Britannic Majesty.

All of these foreign occupations have exercised different cultural and ethnological influences upon the life and thought of the Maltese, and their folklore inevitably bears traces of these various contacts. One aspect of Maltese folklore showing traces of primitive survivals is provided by some of the season feasts held on Malta and the neighboring island of Gozo. The custom of lighting bonfires on St. John's Eve (June 23) dates from very early times. A Maltese proverb warns one not to change over to light summer clothing before St. John's Day. According to Maltese tradition St. John's father was threshing corn when the word was brought to him of his son's birth. Overjoyed at this news he set fire to his field, and ever since then bonfires have been lighted on St. John's Eve to commemorate this event. During the period when the Knights ruled the Maltese archipelago the lighting of bonfires amounted almost to an official ceremony. After the *Angelus* on St. John's Eve the Grand Master of the Order, accompanied by

members of his Council and by pages carrying lighted torches, came out from the Palace to a public square where five pitch barrels were placed for this occasion. After circling the barrels three times the torch was applied. Then other bonfires in adjacent streets and squares were lighted, including one in front of the Holy Infirmary at which the Infirmary chaplains assisted.

St. John's day itself (June 24) is regarded in Malta as particularly propitious for love divination. The saying: "San Gwann tini xortija" (St. John make me happy, literally, give me my luck) is still rather common. In former times it seems to have been the custom in some districts for Maltese village girls to melt lead and then pour it into a vessel containing water. According to the various shapes assumed by the lead when it solidified one could foretell whether the girl would be happy in the choice of a husband.

St. Nicholas in Malta, like St. Valentine in English folklore, is believed to be helpful to young girls in search of a husband. In some villages people will say if more than one marriage in the same street occurs within a short period of time. "St. Nicholas has entered this street."

Maltese folk songs and ballads are still popular, and the folk bard may yet be seen in country districts. Vestiges of ancient folk tunes still remain, as, for example, in a pathetic air played on the flute during Good Friday processions and in a traditional lullaby which mothers sing to their babies.

Agriculture is one of the major occupations in the Maltese archipelago, and despite the stony nature of their soil the Maltese are skillful and industrious farmers. In connection with agricultural pursuits one may still find survivals of fertility rites in Malta and Gozo. For example, some Maltese farmers leave a ring, the symbol of marriage, on the branch of a pear tree in the belief that the tree would thereby bear more fruit. The column of manure which is sometimes left standing in Maltese fields until the rains wash it away is popularly referred to as *i-gharus* (bridegroom). Sometimes on vine trees two Turkish appearing puppets are hung, one male and one female. These figures are believed to ensure a rich harvest. Still another practice is to suspend two oval pebbles from the branches of the ziziphus tree in the belief that otherwise the tree would be barren. In various country districts the practice is still observed on Palm Sunday of throwing handfuls of earth on the leaves of olive trees to make sure there will be an abundant harvest.

Fear of the moon and its influence on human beings affects various folk beliefs and practices. There is a Maltese proverb which translated states: "Look at the moon with sympathy, for it will grow jealous of you." The period of the March and August moons is considered particularly favorable for placing eggs under brooding hens. Some say that olives should be picked with the new moon or during its first phase when the north wind is blowing. The waxing moon is considered a favorable occasion for the planting of palm trees. Unmarried girls are told to comb their hair in the light of the moon, and if they wish to find a rich husband, they should hold a coin in their hand while they look at the moon. Various Maltese proverbs make reference to the desirability of propitiating this heavenly body, for otherwise unforeseen difficulties might occur. One proverb affirms: "Do not curse the light of the moon, for it will bring diseases and unhappiness."

Belief in changelings presents still another aspect of Maltese folklore. Some assert that a child suffering from certain diseases has been changed by evil spirits and accordingly is called *mibdul*, which corresponds to the English word changeling. Within the memory of Maltese elders children suffering from some illnesses were taken by their mothers to St. Julian's Bay and there covered in mud up to the chin. When taken out again their clothes were left behind in the mud or sand. The children were cleaned in the waters of a nearby spring, and mothers invoked the saint in the following manner:

Dak mhux ibni  
Bdilthuli  
Tfejjaqhuli  
Jew inhallihulek f'wiccek.

He is not my child:  
You have changed him;  
You must cure him  
Or I'll leave him here on your hands.

Similar practices are known to have been common on the neighboring island of Gozo.

There are many other aspects of Maltese folklore which await collection and further analysis. The subject is indeed a rich one and thus far has been only slightly studied. A patient investigator will find here much to reward him for his efforts.

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## TEACHING FOLKLORE TO COLLEGE STUDENTS

by J. Russell Reaver

IN THE APRIL, 1958, Supplement to the *Journal of American Folklore*, MacEdward Leach reports that seventy-six percent of 307 American colleges and universities "teach folklore in some form or other." Only the very small colleges have no courses. In sixty percent of the institutions only one course is taught: it may be general folklore, American folklore, the folktale, or the ballad.

Seventy-one percent of all college folklore courses are taught and administered by English departments. Anthropology teaches fourteen percent, with the remainder divided among Sociology, German, Spanish, Music, Fine Arts, History, or a joint administration, which five institutions use. Also seventy-four percent of folklore courses are undergraduate, although at nine universities it is now possible to take a doctoral degree by doing work for the most part in folklore and submitting a thesis in folklore. The degree is usually awarded by a conventional department, such as English.

In addition to its report on the teaching of folklore, the American Folklore Society has revived its Committee on Education. This Committee hopes to help courses in folklore in higher institutions by exchanging information, by publishing bibliographies, syllabi, and handbooks. It is seeking funds to support its projected publications.

In the light of this current interest of our national society in the academic study of folklore, I would like to offer a few observations on the training in folklore for college students. Perhaps those of us who teach college courses may be encouraged to re-examine some of our methods and purposes. My suggestions may particularly assist the various institutions that Professor Leach reports are expecting to add folklore courses in the near future.

Doubtless some of the confusing variety of training in folklore arises from the too hasty identification of "folklore" with the particular interest or ability of the person, usually an English professor, who conducts the single course typically offered to college students. From the early days of folklore study in American institutions, the training in folklore has been incidental to other concerns of the scholars teaching the courses, and inevitably the teaching was deeply colored by their theories and personalities. To mention only a few: Walter Morris Hart at the University of California had no doubt about his



ability to stratify all folklore into primitive, less primitive, and so on. At Harvard Kittredge terrorized students in his class but is now a classic example of the professor who gave lavish attention to serious students, among them Stith Thompson. As you will recall, Kittredge came to the study of folk ballads as an extension of his concerns with medieval romance, Beowulf, and Shakespeare, and his interest in balladry was determined largely by literary values. Although Archer Taylor was in Kittredge's class in the medieval romance, he became important among American folklorists by pulling American scholarship out of provincialism through his contacts with European folklorists. Yet Taylor's approach to folklore began primarily through medieval romances and medieval German.

From examining college catalogs and talking with folklorists from all parts of the country, I believe, however, that professors of folklore are now tending to offer an introductory course that brings together the psychological and material aspects of traditional experience from the culture of the world. This course is occasionally followed by one dealing with the lore found in the United States, borrowed, indigenous, and transformed. It seems to me this trend should be encouraged. If this sequence of courses is not administratively feasible, the basic course should attempt to combine acquaintance with international subjects and styles with the American expression of them. Such a program will of course demand increasing sophistication and learning of the teacher. There are, for instance, many superior teachers of the folktale who confess to little knowledge of folk music. I believe the humanistic and scholarly values to be found in the study of folklore through the introductory course can be most effectively presented by one professor combining liveliness with learning. It may be of interest, however, to note that at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, the training departs from the usual pattern. It is a two-semester course called Fine-Arts 385-386: Introduction to Folklore. This year-long program is taught by the departments of humanities, arts, and social sciences. It claims to cover folklore as the expression of the traditional life of man and its manifestations in folktale, folk art, folk music and other forms. The first semester course ranges through the world's culture. During the second semester the course concentrates on a specific culture and studies all aspects of its traditional life, with the selected culture varying from year to year.

This academic program is reminiscent of the well established Swedish method of folk life research that combines the psychological

and material qualities of culture. The full curriculum at Indiana University, as you know, offers in its graduate program courses in anthropology, literature, and sociology. Beginning in September, 1960, Indiana will offer a doctoral program in American Folklore that includes comparative folklore and American Studies. The investigation of a specific group of people appears to approach the method of Richard M. Dorson, who in *Bloodstoppers and Bearwalkers: Folk Traditions of the Upper Peninsula* (Michigan) has expressed his conviction that the concept of the term *folk* is fuzzy and much abused. It can be given clear meaning by speaking of a *folk*, not *the folk*. A folk, this game ends with a tug-of-war (*dragkamp*). The choosing between says Dorson, is formed from places of residence like a rural town or an urban neighborhood, by common racial or national stocks, by occupations like herding cattle, playing professional football, or attending a school. The traditions of such a unified people may become esoteric and bizarre to the outsider.

Whether the college student's introduction is confined to one course taught by a professor trying to acquaint his students with the many facets of the traditional experiences and attitudes of a folk or is offered by several specialists, the foundation, I believe, should always be built from the materials of the total life of a folk through studying all forms of inherited practices.

The introductory course in folklore is not only an opportunity to meet your grandfather, as Harold Thompson used to say each time he began to teach his class in New York folklore. The eventual goal toward which the teacher has the privilege of guiding the student is the personal satisfaction discovered in helping continue the vital stream of folk tradition in contemporary life. The degrees of satisfying experience will vary as each student comes to know and like some phase of folk life. Although everyone is at least in part a carrier of popular lore, the formal presentation of the divisions of folklore may not only help students to enjoy the songs, stories, proverbs, dances, and arts of a folk but also encourage some of them to become singers or storytellers within a valid folk tradition. From collecting and studying popular traditions, the student may have his sympathies broadened to understand more deeply the lives of the people from whom a great tradition comes. He may even be led to respect our sometimes dubious humanity.

Yet the limited community or group remains the fertile seedbed where folk life flourishes. We all realize it would be a mistake in

academic training to try to impose arbitrarily chosen "standard" selections of folk expression on students. An ideal coverage of any folk life would present as great a variety of folk forms and attitudes as possible. One workable outline for a semester course might be to begin with the briefer expressions of folk attitudes in proverbs, riddles, and beliefs and then examine the peculiarities of speech and dialect found in these verbal traditions. This phase could proceed to the methods of folk naming, etymology, and phraseology. After the students have become sensitive to popular beliefs and speech, they could look more thoroughly into the life of a folk by examining typical folkways in the customs associated with birth, courtship, marriage, death and burial, as well as the local ways of making a living together with the tools, housing, furniture, and the like. Within this framework, the revelations of life found in whatever the folk society possesses of verse, drama, myth, legend, tale, song, or ballad may be appreciated.

If collecting is to be seriously undertaken, we realize the value of making distribution maps and keeping card files. One good method frequently used is to try to cover the lore of one town or county and to keep a card index covering all items from oral or printed sources.

If genuine lore is taught and learned, students may become valid carriers of many traditions after their schooling. Schools should avoid any attempt to standardize folklore. Unless each student can do his own field collecting, the teacher must be careful to furnish examples revealing as much as possible what is really most vital and significant to the people themselves. Not all lore is beautiful; some is trivial. The conscious student performer need not be so impersonal as the scientific scholar.

In the Secretary's report several colleges indicated their interests in establishing and organizing local archives, and there is much concern over publishing folklore or using it either as an introduction to art literature or to creative writing.

As William Hugh Jansen stated in the March, 1958, issue of the *Archivist*, "No greater chaos can be imagined than that which prevails among the various set-ups which are, or might be, termed folk archives in the United States." However, as Thelma James points out in the following June issue, there are some publications that may assist the public or private archivist in bringing some degree of general order to a collection, in addition to the order that makes peculiar sense to the director or founder of an archive. Among the more recent there are now available, for instance, Volume V on *Superstitions of the Frank*

*C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore*, supplemented by Ray B. Browne's *Popular Beliefs and Practices from Alabama* (1958). Until the publication of Margaret Bryant's work on the proverb, sponsored by the American Dialect Society, Archer Taylor's *Proverbial Comparisons and Similes from California* (1954) can be very useful, as well as his compilation with B. J. Whiting, *A Dictionary of American Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases, 1820-1880* (1959). Taylor's *English Riddles from Oral Tradition* (1951) is already widely used for classifying. G. Malcolm Laws' *American Balladry from British Broad-sides* (1957) supplements the Child numbers for the English ballad.

The publication of guides and textbooks of folklore has not yet met the needs that most teachers of folklore feel. The student market remains too limited for commercial publishers. Excellent models of special studies and collections exist, however, for students to emulate. To mention only recent publications emphasizing the folktale: A satisfactory collaboration was achieved in Vance Randolph's *The Devil's Pretty Daughter and Other Ozark Folk Tales* (1955), in which his narratives were annotated by Herbert Halpert. A challenging standard to all editors of collections is Richard M. Dorson's *Bloodstoppers and Bearwalkers* (1952), and his *Negro Folktales in Michigan* (1956) successfully recreates the lives of his informants and sympathetically describes the complex folk life underlying the telling of these tales. Horace P. Beck in *The Folklore of Maine* (1957) approaches the ideal of creative history that has the readability of fiction by fusing his original collections with a vivid account of the personalities from the sea and shore revealing the popular history of the state. Dorson's *American Folklore* (1959) shows how to heighten the interest of familiar lore by interpreting it within its social conditions.

For the college course using American folklore, creative writing can easily be stimulated, for many writers have been aware of folk traditions in the United States. Not only major figures like Mark Twain and William Faulkner but writers like T. B. Thorpe, Johnson J. Hooper, Rowland E. Robinson, and George S. Wasson give us skillful treatment of folk life. A long-felt need among folklorists and literary critics for distinguishing between reliable and spurious use of folklore in imaginative literature has been partly met by the publication of *Folklore in American Literature*, edited by John T. Flanagan and Arthur Palmer Hudson, although it is difficult to understand the appearance of recognized field collectors like Vance Rudolph and Zora Neale Hurston in a book intended to show the creative freedom of

literary artists. To an important degree, nevertheless, it illustrates the contention of Constance Rourke that literary criticism may be misled unless it has a firm grasp of the folk past. Its selections show us that folk life often reveals moments of creative emotion. In folk literature we are taken close to the qualities and ingredients of the creative function in its unhampered play of imagination. From acquaintance with a folk storyteller the aspiring student-writer may be inclined to further conscious artistry grounded in the reality of human experience. of folklore should be an understanding of the tragicomic heart of of folklore should be an understanding of the tragicomic heart of humanity. Our students in American colleges and universities are having opened for them from the growing number of courses in folklore the opportunity to learn more of the creation, dissemination, and use of the traditions of mankind. May their opportunities increase.

*Florida State University*

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Family Saga and Other Phases of American Folklore*, by Mody C. Boatright, Robert B. Downs, and John T. Flanagan. University of Illinois Press, 1958. (Sixth Annual Windsor Lectures) 65p. 2.50

This is the sixth volume of a series of lectures in librarianship established at the University of Illinois in honor of Dr. Phineas Windsor when he retired in 1940 after thirty-one years as director of the library and the library school.

The lectures are as follows: *The Family Saga as a Form of Folklore*, by Mody C. Boatright, professor of English at the University of Texas; *Apocryphal Biology: A Chapter in American Folklore*, by Robert B. Downs, Dean of Library Administration and Director of the Library School at the University of Illinois; and *Folklore in American Literature*, by John T. Flanagan, professor of English at the University of Illinois.

Mr. Boatright uses the term, family saga, "to denote a love that tends to cluster around families, or often the patriarchs or matriarchs of families, which is preserved and modified by oral transmission, and which is believed to be true." Although most of the stories come from his native state of Texas, counterparts could be found in almost any other section of the country. There are anecdotes of why certain members of families left home and went to Texas, or other places West, and stories of buried treasure never recovered, of escapades with wild beasts or of encounters with the Indians. A few stories are about dreams or visions that came true, leading to the discovery of oil, recovery of family treasure or the opportunity to help someone in trouble.

The second lecture is more in the line of this reviewer's field, not only because it was delivered by a fellow librarian but also because it concerns a phase of folklore that links up with literature for children and young people. Its theme is natural-history folklore which Mr. Downs divides into two parts, "improbable behavior on the part of known animals" and "the actions of mythical beasts." To illustrate the first part, he recounts several fairly long tales including "Jim Baker's Blue Joy Yarn" as told by Mark Twain, and "Uncle Heber's Fly Trap" recorded in the eastern part of North Carolina. The mythological animals are from American tall tales, largely those of yarns surrounding Paul Bunyon and Febold Feboldson. Examples are the hoop-



snake, the sidehill gouger, or whatever the animal in hilly country who has two long legs on the downhill side and two short legs on the uphill side is called, the wompus cat, the filla-ma-loo, or goofus, bird which flies backward, and an animal which Mr. Downs calls the squonk. In the neck of the woods in South Carolina where this reviewer hails from, the name is "squeedunk," a term applied also to children and others who cry too freely, since the "squeedunk" was said to weep constantly and could achieve the fearsome fate of dissolving in its own tears. The lecture concludes with the familiar snipe, a bird which most people encounter first in some initiation prank.

In his lecture, Mr. Flanagan is concerned with what he terms "one of the most exciting and interesting approaches to literature . . . the study of folklore and its impact on writing." He feels that every major American writer from James Fennimore Cooper to Thomas Wolfe owes great obligations to folklore used to enrich his work. His lecture concentrates on a few recurring folklore themes and the works of certain authors.

The legends which he points out as being persistent in American life, and consequently in literature, are buried treasure, regardless of where and by whom it was placed, ghosts with the closely allied topic of witchcraft, and the general theme of superstitions and their impact on human behavior in both life and literature. He cites numerous examples of such themes, with authors and titles to support his thesis. He also calls attention to the tall tale," a type of folk narrative especially prominent in American literature."

Mr. Flanagan chooses three books which not only use folklore but in which "the folklore is organic rather than merely decorative." His examples are Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*, George Washington Cable's *The Grandissimes* and William Faulkner's *The Hamlet*. His analysis of these pieces of literature is both penetrating and interesting, especially in the case of *The Hamlet* which he considers "without parallel in modern American fiction in its wealth of folk humor," combining all the motifs of folklore mentioned in his lecture.

This book furnishes good reading, though one wishes he could have heard the lectures, since reading leaves him with the feeling that some asides with chuckles of enjoyment failed to reach the printed page. The lecturers seem well chosen for their task. As the foreword points out, Mr. Boatright is of the group who find folklore and record it; Mr. Downs belongs to the group who interpret folk-lore; and Mr. Flanagan represents those who read folk tales with the eye of the critic. All



three are authors in their own right as shown by the following examples: Boatright's *Folk Laughter in the American Frontier* (Macmillan, 1949) *Books That Changed the World* by Downs (A.L.A. 1956) and *Folklore in American Literature* (Row, 1958) which Mr. Flanagan edited with Arthur Palmer Hudson.

The format of the book is attractive, with black and white drawings, especially pictures of mythical animals, in chapter 2. The interesting foreword was written by Harold Lancour, Associate Director, University of Illinois Library School.

There are footnotes throughout the book and references at the end of two chapters.

Azile Wofford,

University of Kentucky

*Louisiana Folklore Miscellany*. Louisiana Folklore Society Publication No. 3, May, 1959. 43 pp.

This little brochure contains three articles dealing with Louisiana 1) place names, 2) folk medicine, and 3) Negro acculturation in an Easter ceremony. While the work presented here is somewhat lacking in scholarly details, it brings up interesting topics, those of relating psychiatry, religion, and folklore.

In his article, "Some Mythical Place Names in Louisiana," John Q. Anderson mentions Galvez and Bayou Pom Pom as mythical places. The first is not at all mythical since it is listed on the Rand McNally map with some 300 inhabitants and is well known as an early Spanish settlement named for Bernardo de Gálvez. The second name seems to have been an invention of one Walter Coquille in a sort of spurious Acadian folklore and it has little if any currency among the real folk. At least this article serves to suggest the fact that there is need for a collection of Louisiana's real place names, about which there are both legendary and historical details.

The second article, "Psychotherapeutic Technique in Folk Medicine," by William S. Wiedorn, Jr., presents an interesting and provocative subject, that of relating psychiatry to folklore and spiritual healing in religion. As pointed out, many remedies of the psychiatric practitioner's art go back to folk medicine.

Of the three groups of folk healers—black magic, herb, and spiritual healers—the author emphasizes the last as most interesting. How-

ever, for his illustrations he cites a single informant, an ostensibly unstable and deranged person, typical of those outlaw cults which do not command the respect of established religions. The writer gives the impression of attributing to psychiatry a sort of omniscient, would-be scientific know-how that looks down its nose at Christian, spiritual healing, equating it with the most abysmal of superstitions. At least no distinction is made between truly spiritual healing based upon universal truth and that based upon rankly ignorant beliefs.

Dr. Wiedorn's article is significant because it scratches the surface of a deep and enormous resource yet to be recognized fully by the medical profession, although a number of denominations, notably the Christian Scientists and the Episcopalians, have been working in the direction of spiritual healing with apparently valid results. It might have been pointed out that psychiatry has too often remained within or depended too much upon the more primitive aspects of folk medicine in its use of drugs, shock treatment, and the like, and has neglected the higher spiritual traditions of man. The psychiatrist, differing from the physical doctor, must deal more with the spiritual values. He must have insight into social and religious traditions. This article also broaches a fertile field, loaded with controversy, that of the folklore of Christianity.

The third article, "Easter Rock Revisited: A Study in Acculturation," by Harry Oster, tries to show that an Easter celebration among a group of Protestant Negroes in Louisiana goes back to an African ceremonial dance, purportedly known as a "shout." The writer implies that Christianity is alien to and superimposed upon Negro culture. He makes the claim that the word *shout*, in this case, "is probably derived from the Arabic *saut*!" This latter word is obviously French, meaning *jump*, and there seems to be no connection with *shout*. In relation to the word *saut*, going back to the Latin *Saltus*, a European origin is suggested for saltation and dance in religious ceremonies. Certainly we see this in the case of the *Salii* or Roman Priests of Mars. It seems to be a fairly universal manifestation. Mr. Oster might have made the interesting association of the word *shout* with the expression "shouting Methodist," often heard by this reviewer.

He further claims that the banner carried representing Christ the Son is a survival of worship of the sun in African ritual! The article belittles this folk ceremony, which seems genuinely Christian and sincere, by saying that the nearly illiterate preacher mistakenly links *East* with *yeast* and Christ's resurrection. This concept strikes one as

poetic and moving, and, moreover, *Easter* and *East* are associated in more ways than one. Certainly this is more valid than linking *son* and *sun*!

Unfortunately these articles touch only on certain fringy, unorthodox sects, which are always easy, stock targets of sophisticated criticism. One, however, often finds more real religion among some of these groups than among the big recognized churches. Your reviewer is reminded of this pertinent story at this point. It seems that a rather poorly dressed woman went into a large, established church, and at a certain point shouted, "Amen!" while manifesting signs of the workings of the Holy Ghost. The usher came and motioned to her to be quiet. She did this a second and finally a third time, and the exasperated man came to her at last and said, "Stop shouting that way!" "But I have religion," replied the poor woman. "Well," retorted the respectable, upset churchman, "this is no place to get religion!"

We need to have more research, with critical insight extending into the folklore of the big orthodoxies, which go untouched because of a tacit and pious universal acceptance. In conclusion, it may be said that much of the religion of yesterday is the folklore of today, and much of the religion of today will be the folklore of tomorrow.

CALVIN CLAUDEL

*New Orleans, Louisiana*

*Dictionary of the American Indian.* JOHN L. STOUTENBURGH, JR. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1960. 462 pp. \$10.00.

A new, serviceable and available dictionary of American Indian terms has long been a desideratum. The present dictionary, in the opinion of a reviewer who is no specialist in such matters, appears to be of high quality and of great utility. The entries for the most part are concise and clear and not designed for the presentation of extensive treatment (what dictionary is?), but they will be useful for the general reader, the folklorist, and even to the specialist who could hardly know as many terms as those presented.

The print is clear and each entry is offered in bold-faced print with the short definition set one line beneath it. The format is almost lavish, and some will criticize the publishers for printing a book so expensively when it could have been done much more cheaply.

Perhaps the citing of a few examples would be the best method to demonstrate the kind of definitions offered: *Kilatika*. This was a division of the Miami who lived near Fort St. Louis and in the upper Illinois in 1684; *Niantic*. This Algonquin tribe became extinct shortly after the Pequot War of 1637. They formerly lived in Connecticut and Rhode Island; *Uxbridge*. Uxbridge, Massachusetts, a village of the Praying Indians, see Wacuntug; *Wacuntug*. This was a village of the Praying Indians (q.v.), formerly of the Nipmucs in 1674, the village was located near what is now Uxbridge, Massachusetts.

The 4000 items listed seem to cover the most important, as well as the little known Indian terms and the places which had associations with the many tribes of North America.

J.E.K.

TO: Subscribers of *Southern Folklore Quarterly*

FROM: Alton C. Morris, Editor

Enclosed are four corrected pages of the March, 1960, issue of *Southern Folklore Quarterly*. Will you please substitute these pages for the ones which were sent out as a part of this issue?

I regret the inadvertently garbled form of the original and hope that this corrected form will be substituted for the original.

We especially wish this correction to be made, since scholars having bibliographical items for inclusion in the 1960 Folklore Bibliography will wish to notice the appointment of the new folklore bibliographer, Dr. Américo Paredes of the Department of English, University of Texas, Austin.



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